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War Profiteering

★ The nation is at war and we consider the auto price boosts simple war profiteering. They are laughing at the public, attributing higher prices to safety devices. That's a change anyway. Usually they blame labor.

America's inflation is profit inflation. Year after year you can find the cause spelled out in the quiet annual reports of the Council of Economic Advisers. In 1964 it found events "disquieting"; "a widely scattered minority of the larger industrial corporations" were price-cheating. In 1965 it named names. Higher prices, it said, "tend to produce unusually high profits (*as in the automobile industry*)" (my italics).

Was labor at fault; was it making exorbitant wage demands? Specifically and authoritatively the CEA report this year said, "No." "Wage movements of recent years must clearly be characterized as moderate," it said. It used the word "moderation" a second time, and declared that "unit labor costs in manufacturing were *lower* [my italics] in 1965 than in 1960," an amazing record.

In fact, the imbalance between roaring corporate profits and skimpy labor gains produced warnings from virtually everyone. One conservative observer forecast "a wage explosion." We like to quote Eisenhower's economic adviser, Arthur F. Burns, because nobody can say he is radical; not even liberal. But he is informed and honest, and that was his verdict last month.

Manufacturers' profits are, in short, incredible—at all-time peaks. For the half year they are over 10 percent above the 1965 first half. In an inflationary boom wages normally lag behind profits as they are doing now;

often they don't catch up till the end of the boom and may help collapse it. Real earnings (wage increases, minus cost-of-living advances) are currently hardly holding their own. You can fairly hear unions gritting their teeth over this situation; waiting for their contracts to expire! Then, of course, the editorials will charge them with "producing inflation"! That was the editorial burden in the airplane settlement. Not mentioned was that the profits of the struck airlines had *doubled* in the past 18 months.

The Ford Motor Company, GM and Chrysler probably won't do as well next year as this. GM, for example, may not equal its incredible 1965 sales of \$20.7 billion. (Ford, \$15.3 and Chrysler, \$5.2 billion.) Like the rest of the stock market, auto shares are down. But dividends are high; Ford pays well over 5 percent; GM around 6 percent. Ford doubled sales since 1960.

How can Mr. Johnson ask the nation to be patriotic and subscribe to forthcoming war bonds when he is letting giant corporations profiteer like this? Last week we went to the President's press conference, hoping that perhaps he would denounce the car price boosts, as Kennedy did steel prices. What he said was that he "regretted" the rise; he had not yet received the CEA report. "But they [the manufacturers] are free to make their own prices, and they did."

Well, we don't think it will wash. This is paying too much for consensus. To let this profit grab get by now, with no more than a mild "naturally, I regret . . ." is an abeyance of responsibility.

The *Baltimore Sun*, incidentally (like hundreds of other papers over the country), dutifully carried a front-page Associated Press story September 21 reporting that "the Ford price boost would average \$25, or about one percent." This was the company's unchallenged figure. We often wonder at the gullibility of the AP and so-called "straight news reporting." Correspondents of both the *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal*, by contrast, reported that the boost would average \$112. This is something like 450 percent higher than the AP account.

While we are on the subject, the late Senator Kefauver's anti-monopoly subcommittee (now under Sen. Hart—D, Mich.) has been holding quiet hearings

on economic concentration. Nobody pays much attention. If you're interested, the 200 largest manufacturing giants in the latest figure (1963) account for 41 percent of *all* US output.

Powell the Pirate

★ Adam Clayton Powell, member of Congress and minister of the Abyssinian Baptist Church (Harlem), has been called a "Lothario," a "playboy" and a "crook." But we have always liked him and thought of him differently; to us he is just a pirate. He is the kind of handsome, swarthy figure who would lead his tattered followers swarming up over the side of a merchant ship with a cutlass in his mouth, and set about looting her in a quite agreeable manner, with a smile on his aquiline, Spanish features. He is a professional Negro; if you object to his little ways you are a racist. Congressional seniority elevated him, as it would a southern bigot. His followers in Harlem delighted to feel that he was matching wits with "Whitey" in Congress and getting a bit of their own back. Lush trips, extramarital adventures, a riverboat gambler's cigar—? They didn't begrudge him that (if they knew about it); some way or other he had achieved what they wanted—power.

Notes: Mr. Johnson's press conference gave a startled titter when he announced that Attorney General Katzenbach was accepting demotion to become Undersecretary of State. Also that Yale professor Eugene Rostow was becoming Undersecretary for Political Affairs, and Ambassador Foy D. Kohler was returning from Moscow to become Deputy Undersecretary. (Brother Walt W. Rostow is already Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.) Katzenbach succeeds a "No man," George W. Ball, who sometimes questioned Vietnam policy. The President delights in secrets and seemed delighted at his bombshell. He answered earlier questions in a low, husky monotone, with kind of defensive uncommunicativeness, like a poker player picking cards from a guarded hand. What Mr. Katzenbach knows about foreign affairs nobody can say. It seems to mean that everybody will think alike now at State.

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The Goldberg Proposals

President Johnson appeared last week to have yielded to internal and external pressures to make a serious attempt to negotiate an end of the war in Vietnam. This is certainly preferable to further escalation of the war, which many people feared was about to occur. The United Nations was the obvious forum for a new American peace offensive. The UN Secretary General, U Thant, seemed determined to quit his post unless the major powers cooperated in peacekeeping. He had expressed dissatisfaction with the behavior of both Russia and China, but mainly his discontent was directed against what he regarded as the failure of the United States to take the initiative in trying to end the Vietnam war through discussion.

The US Ambassador to the UN, Arthur Goldberg, obviously favored such an initiative; partly perhaps because if U Thant quit the international organization it would probably be left rudderless; but chiefly no doubt because Mr. Goldberg sincerely felt the time was ripe for another peace bid by this country. Goldberg hinted, on September 18, that the US has some hopes of persuading the Russians to use their influence with Hanoi to bring North Vietnam to a conference table; and he also declared that he would like the UN to have a "proper role" in achieving a peaceful solution of the Vietnam conflict. Next day, Goldberg reiterated what US spokesmen have said often enough, but perhaps he said it with rather more conviction; the only solution of the war is through negotiation, not through force. "Peace will finally be restored by negotiation. . . . I know of no other way." That showed where Goldberg stood on the question of continuing and escalating the fighting. It is painfully evident that in the Administration there have been other voices, which have argued radically different theses. Last week, however, it was Goldberg who had the floor. In a major address to the UN General Assembly on September 22, he made three proposals that he hoped might pave the way to peace. He said that this country is willing to order the cessation of all bombing of North Vietnam when it receives some assurance, private or public, from Hanoi that North Vietnam will make a timely response by cutting back its 17 regiments fighting in the South. He said this country will accept internationally supervised, phased withdrawal of all outside forces from the South, if Hanoi will agree to such a schedule; supervision could be by either the United Nations or some other body. And he said that this country would not make an insurmountable problem of participation by the Viet Cong in peace negotiations; "we invite the authorities in Hanoi to consider whether this obstacle to negotiation

may not be more imaginary than real." After stating those three propositions, Ambassador Goldberg left the door open to any other proposals for peaceful negotiations that anyone else, including Hanoi, may care to advance: "We have not been and are not now," he said, "inflexible in our position."

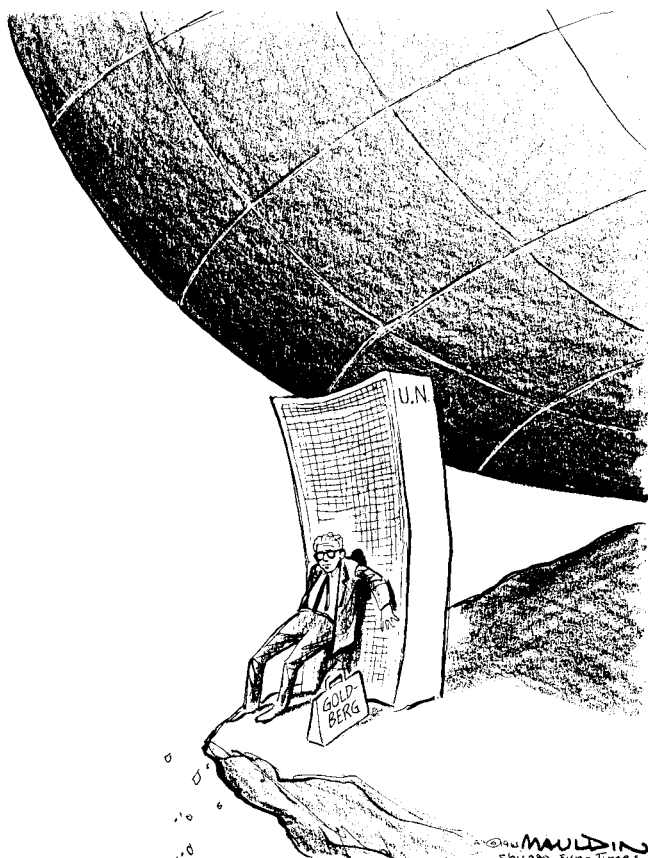
There could be debate about how inflexible this country has been; and the references to the Viet Cong, whose role in negotiations could well make or break the chances of talks being held, were quite ambiguous, doubtless out of deference as usual to the military government in Saigon. Nevertheless Goldberg made a better show of flexibility than has been the case with the US for some time. His three proposals bear a likeness to U Thant's previously stated three points for settling the war, which were for the US to end the bombing of the North, for both sides to scale down the fighting, and for the Viet Cong to join in peace talks. The Goldberg plan may have been unveiled in the nick of time to save Mr. Johnson from appearing hopelessly rigid in comparison with almost everyone else. Old John F. Kennedy (and current Robert F. Kennedy) hands Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and Richard N. Goodwin are talking against widening the war. Republicans as well as Senator Fulbright are expressing support of U Thant. Even President Marcos of the Philippines, fresh from White House handclasps and with a firm promise of \$55-million in US aid, had just dealt a

thoroughly disconcerting blow at his recent host, by suggesting, in a speech to the UN, that an attempt be made to negotiate an end of the Vietnam war by South-east Asian countries *and the Soviet Union*—leaving this country somewhere on the sidelines. Plainly, the time had come for the Administration to try to prove that it had not painted itself into a corner from which the only escape route was up the escalation ladder.

If the Administration really has found the will to negotiate an end of the war and is not just making a show, what are the chances of success? The extreme war weariness so evident among the South Vietnamese may very well extend to the North; the bombing of the North has been a flop as far as ending or even slowing down "infiltration" is concerned; all the same, no country wants to go on being savagely pummeled from the air daily by a much bigger and stronger foe. For their defense against American air attacks, the North Vietnamese depend mainly on Russian ground-to-air missiles, and on Russian MIGs. The Russians have supplied these and are prepared to go on doing so as long as the US bombing continues, but the Soviet Union probably would prefer a negotiated settlement.

None of this, however, means either that Hanoi will rush to embrace the Goldberg proposals, or that Moscow is going to display the least inclination to twist Hanoi's arm into doing so. Quite to the contrary, Hanoi at first may confidently be expected to dismiss the whole thing as an American imperialist trick, and Moscow to repeat that the only way to end the war is for the Western imperialists to pull all their forces out of South Vietnam, unconditionally. Fortunately, these cries need not be misunderstood to have any more real content than Secretary of State Rusk's reiterated wooden phrases about the war automatically ending the instant the North gets tired of its unprovoked aggression against the sovereign and independent South.

The struggle is, in fact, a highly complicated civil war, into which the great powers have rashly stepped or been sucked, until now the whole appalling business confronts all of them with the threat of a third world war. They won't get out from under that shadow by any simple word, gesture or formula. They will have to work hard at it, but one of them, China, isn't at all likely to lift a helpful finger, and Russia while wishing an end of the war can't afford to appear to be truckling to the US or letting down North Vietnam. "If anybody should take the initiative," said Senator Fulbright on September 16, after seeing U Thant, "we should." Now the US has done so, but part of what President Johnson recently called the price of great power is the responsibility to pursue that initiative doggedly, until peace talks really do get under way. We may find that obstacles to negotiation will then turn out to be more imaginary than real.



The Exterminators

Twenty-two American scientists, including seven Nobel Prize winners, petitioned President Johnson last week about the use of chemical weapons in Vietnam. The best case for their appeal was made, unintentionally, by the Defense Department, in February. Pentagon officials described the "new tactic" of a helicopter-borne tear gas attack designed to "flush" Viet Cong fighters out of bunkers and tunnels. After being flushed out by the tear gas, the human vermin are exterminated by fragmentation bombs hurled at them from B-52 bombers. The latest types of fragmentation bombs are devised to explode on the ground, covering wide areas with whizzing, razor-edged steel knives that literally slice their victims to pieces. The point about employing tear gas in conjunction with fragmentation bombs is that only last October, the use of tear gas against the Viet Cong was solemnly defended – by Defense Department officials – as a humanitarian, life-sparing tactic. It was explained that while it was probably very cruel to "winkle" the Viet Cong out of underground bunkers and tunnels with high explosives – for the bunkers and tunnels are usually occupied by women and children as well as guerrilla fighters – tear gas sprayed from helicopters would do the job just as well and without killing a soul. The aim, in October 1965, was to calm Americans and others who were expressing indignation at the Pentagon's recourse to gas. The Defense Department officials cannily made no reference to the tactic of employing fragmentation bombs against men, women and children "flushed" or "winkled" out of bunkers and tunnels. That is what is now being done. Chemicals are also being used in Vietnam on a big scale, to destroy crops in an attempt to starve people into submission; but this is old hat.

The petition to the White House asked for a review of US policy regarding chemical and biological weapons; the petition has the support of the Council of the Federation of American Scientists. This country never ratified the 1925 Geneva protocol condemning and prohibiting the use in war of poisonous or other gases, and of bacteriological weapons. President Roosevelt gave a no-first-use pledge in 1943; but the United States has signed no treaty and the Roosevelt pledge is evidently in abeyance in Vietnam, where use of tear gas (in conjunction with fragmentation bombs) is at the discretion of field commanders. The scientists are greatly, and rightly, concerned with the general question of use of chemical and bacteriological weapons in wartime. US spending on developing such weapons is now in the hundreds of millions of dollars; 16 years ago, it was only \$6.5 million. Universities have been drawn into the work by the lure of Pentagon money, though just the other day the University of Pennsylvania coura-

geously decided that the ignominy was not worth the subsidy. The scientists' point, quite apart from the barbarity of chemical and biological warfare, is that once such weapons are introduced their use tends to grow rapidly, and by both sides, with possibly incalculable consequences. "Chemical and biological weapons could be far more dangerous as instruments of mass extermination than anything except nuclear weapons." (For one thing, they're a lot cheaper.)

In Vietnam, this country is now using gas in order to kill, and is doing so shortly after making official declarations that were plainly intended to lull people into believing the opposite. It is in Vietnam that the new trend back to barbarism should be reversed, but the reverse gear ought to apply to more than gases and herbicides. For instance, if we expect the enemy to treat our captured airmen and other prisoners according to the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention, and we do, then this country should be prepared not only to abide by the 1925 Geneva protocol about gas, but also to ensure that captured Viet Cong are treated humanely, not first tortured and then executed as "traitors." We might also stir ourselves a bit more to ensure proper medical care for the Vietnamese children we napalm.

Disarming Powell

Adam Clayton Powell lost some of the power he has wielded so arbitrarily as chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, when its members voted last week by a wide margin to adopt new rules. From now on, the committee, not Powell, will hire and fire staff members and dispense the money. Powell must share authority for bringing legislation to the floor with six subcommittee chairmen. In effect, he has lost authority to delay bills he doesn't like. The new rules are for the balance of this Congress, but they are likely to establish a precedent for the next session. They climax the revolt Congressman Sam Gibbons (D, Fla.) brought against Powell, when the chairman did not turn up this year to manage poverty legislation.

The patience of committee members was finally exhausted after a series of nerve-wearing experiences. For one thing, liberal Democrats have long been irked by the cavalier manner in which Powell used committee money and personnel. During the 89th Congress, he and his staff made a total of 89 trips to Miami or San Juan, where the Congressman often vacations. Powell's estranged wife is paid a salary in excess of \$20,000 as a member of the committee staff, but she lives in Puerto Rico. Recently she complained of not getting the money, and there were charges the cash was deposited in her husband's personal checking account. Last year Powell hired some people to investigate the poverty

program, but when the investigators turned up dirt on the Harlem program, he fired them. Then, this summer, he summarily dismissed John Kramer, a staff member, after Drew Pearson praised Kramer for pushing the poverty program while Powell was off on a jaunt.

Both the members of the committee and apparently the Democratic leadership of the House also got fed up with the way Powell was managing and mismanaging legislation. He was on a European junket when Gibbons, chairman of the poverty subcommittee, was trying to get the measure to the floor. Powell crossed up Speaker John McCormack in other ways. For example, organized labor badly wanted a bill which would let workers put picket lines around construction sites (under present rules each union has to picket its own gate and hence can't shut down a whole plant). Powell refused to call up this legislation until the House first approved his own bill to strengthen equal employment regulations. Then, after the House passed *his* bill, Powell refused to bring up the picketing bill. When minimum wage came up, Powell, who was responsible for steering the legislation through the House, unaccountably accepted a Republican amendment setting back the Administration's proposed timetable for a wage increase. The Administration wanted the higher minimum to take effect in 1968; Powell agreed to putting it off until 1969. Democrats, voting with Powell, first thought this represented an agreed-upon party retreat, only to find out afterward that it wasn't. The Senate had to retrieve the fumble.

Powell took little interest in the poverty legislation. He had agreed in a meeting with Gibbons and the President in January to emphasize jobs and social services and downplay the controversial "involvement of the poor" in community action. Powell now talks Black Power. But it was he who helped ensure poverty money would not be used by the Negro poor in the ghettos to organize themselves.

Electric Cars

Interest in electric cars is picking up. Ford has announced it will test a prototype, probably in England next year. President Arjay Miller had said the company was working on a new sodium-sulphide battery that could lengthen the range of an electric vehicle. But it is uncertain how near the company is to actually introducing this system. General Electric has been working on electric vehicles it wants to see used in new cities. And aircraft companies are known to be looking into the possibilities. Senator Warren Magnuson recently introduced a bill which would have the government build a prototype vehicle, and there will be full-scale hearings on his proposal early next year.

Wrangling over Rhodesia

The Commonwealth's Venture into Controversy

London

The British Commonwealth summit conference (nine warm September days and nights of wrangling, almost exclusively about Rhodesia) makes it clear that the Commonwealth can stay alive only by accepting, realistically, its inherent instability at high political altitudes. Seventeen states out of 22 wanted police action in Rhodesia; the Commonwealth principle is consensus; so Harold Wilson, the British prime minister, withdrew, like an employer faced with collective bargaining, to a position more extreme than that of many Tories. He refused even to promise that Rhodesian independence would not be allowed before majority rule is achieved there, and declined to ask the UN for mandatory sanctions against the rebel Rhodesian regime of Ian Smith.

Then, after pushing the two days set aside, on the agenda, for discussion of Rhodesia, to a verbose eight, Wilson made a dramatic last-minute "capitulation": he conceded the majority principle (already the subject of a signed promise from Wilson to nationalist leader Dr. E. C. Matasa) and selective mandatory sanctions, through the UN – unless Smith comes to heel before mid-December. This escalation of Britain's sanctions policy was planned by the British government five months ago, and timed to take place in November. The boss had both conceded and postponed the raise which his board of directors had authorized five months before.

Little positive response is expected from Salisbury, but some Commonwealth officials felt Smith just might seize this remaining chance to influence the pace of transfer to representative government – although any African guarantees he might make to get legal status would be, mused a Commonwealth Relations official, "like Nazi guarantees of fair treatment for Jews."

The Marlborough House meeting proved at least what the Commonwealth *cannot* do: make a Commonwealth policy. The existence of Wilson's go-slow minority – Australia, New Zealand, maverick Malawi and Malta (seeking to look "loyal" in comparison to Cyprus, whose President Makarios wanted to know why Rhodesian Africans were so slow to rise) – only produced a mixture of bitterness edged with ridicule.

Even *The Times*, *The Guardian* and the BBC now talk of the Commonwealth as of a statesman in his dotage. Future Commonwealth summits may not be less frequent, but they are likely to be attended by ministers, not premiers. They will be devoted to sub-

jects which bureaucrats call technical, which they are.

Police action in Rhodesia would have been simpler. Sanctions would implicate Mozambique and South Africa – which is building storage tanks for 615 million gallons of oil, and buying tankers, in readiness for a possible UN blockade. Sanctions on Rhodesia have not worked as Wilson thought, but it may be unfair to say that they have failed: after living for a year on their capital, white Rhodesian tobacco farmers have now sold their crop at production cost. Next year, they have been “promised” five percent more – barely enough profit for a small family with large acres.

Many factories have closed down, while few are at more than half production. Tougher Zambian sanctions over coming months will hit industry further. Credit – more necessary than ever now that the 20-hour week prevails – is dead. The cost of essentials has soared, while property value has fallen. New Nazi-like security laws suggest fear rather than confidence, and make it clear there is more resistance activity than Rhodesia’s censored press reports.

South Africa’s new premier, old wartime pro-Nazi detainee Balthasar Vorster, is likely to be at least as cautious as was the assassinated Verwoerd about letting South Africa be drawn into the Rhodesian whirlpool, at least at first. He shares Verwoerd’s misgivings about the uselessly provocative nature of the revolt.

But Vorster undoubtedly welcomes the 30,000 white Rhodesians who, Pretoria’s latest statistics show, have emigrated to the republic since the rebellion began 10 months ago. Added to the 32,000 who departed during the preceding 18 months, this puts Rhodesia’s current white population at about 155,000, or 45,000 families. Salisbury no longer denies Pretoria’s figures – while carefully publishing none of its own.

This, then – Rhodesia, and through it southern Africa – is the unrelenting crisis over which the Commonwealth tested itself and largely failed. Before the war, such rough subjects were averted. It is the new tropical members – conspicuous by the dark complexions and poverty with which nature has universally endowed the hot countries between Cancer and Capricorn – who are blamed by many Britons and Australians for the Commonwealth’s humiliating venture into controversy.

The “old white countries” – Australia, New Zealand, Canada – are either in or on their way toward the dollar world, and Australia will this year see Japan replace Britain as its main trading partner. Even Britain itself, in a post-de Gaulle phase, could do without the Commonwealth, whose existence is not necessary to preserve sterling, the English language or even aid agreements with strings attached. Only the poor tropical powers – and their still poorer, smaller European brethren, Malta and Cyprus – really want the Commonwealth to continue.

RUSSELL WARREN HOWE

Robert Kennedy on Tour

“I just want to be a good United States senator,” quoth Robert F. Kennedy, freshman Democrat of New York, when asked about future presidential aspirations at Alverne College during his opening Midwest swing of the 1960 campaign. To fulfill this ambition, Kennedy, prior to the four-state trip, dispatched experienced advance men to Worthington, Minn., and Milwaukee, Wis. There they coordinated signals with local politicians, advised local police on crowd control, mapped out swift routes, saw to it that extra phones were installed for the press and generally paved the way.

A commercial plane was chartered to transport a small official entourage swelled by the uncommon interest of 12 newsmen and photographers in a speaking tour of a back-bencher who wasn’t running for anything himself. In the party were Kennedy’s new press secretary, Frank Mankiewicz, and his legislative assistant and speechwriter, Adam Walinsky. There were speech texts and excerpts provided along the route.

As local candidates beamed appreciatively and scrambled to get a slice of the publicity, the senator walked among the multitude, stood on auto rooftops and convertible back seats and shook hands by the hundreds. A disinterested professional politician would have been appalled at the waste of it all on a non-candidate.

Kennedy’s speeches are New Frontier Revisited, with repeated references to John F. Kennedy’s 1960 crusade to get the country moving again. Not until late in the first day did Johnson rate a mention, and then only in passing as the man who appointed a commission to study the draft – headed by ex-New Frontiersman Burke Marshall of Attorney General Kennedy’s Justice Department. He did reiterate, in response to a question, that “I support President Johnson in 1968 and I support Vice President Humphrey.”

On the second day, Kennedy did a bit better by LBJ.

COMING: *Andrew Kopkind*
reports on the work and
worries of *Ambassador*
Arthur Goldberg

He observed that programs started by President Kennedy "and continued so ably by President Johnson" had improved the lot of Americans. Whereupon he renewed his plea for more attention to the nuclear proliferation problem – a favorite heel-snapper first used by the senator to prod Johnson more than a year ago.

The crowds – predominantly young voters and teenagers who will be voters in 1972 – didn't seem to notice or care that his delivery often was wooden. He was *there*, and with luck you might touch him.

Others around the country will have the chance between now and November 8. On most weekends, Kennedy will be busy on behalf of Democratic Senate colleagues and those House Democrats who worked early and hard for JFK in 1960. In between, he is supposed to slip up to New York on weeknights and in the last two weeks of the campaign to help Democratic gubernatorial nominee Frank O'Connor, whose candidacy won Kennedy's unqualified noninterference before the Buffalo state convention.

Idolatry is an old experience for Robert Kennedy, and the first shakedown cruise to the Midwest showed that the Kennedy proficiency in lining up fans is as formidable as ever. Six years is a long time, however, to keep the voters interested and at bay.

At 40, he has plenty of time, and right now Lyndon Johnson does appear to be blocking the way. For the present, it's good party politics to work for the cause – perhaps picking up IOUs along the way.

JULES WITCOVER

Montana Leans Toward The Liberal Democrat

Helena

Whether the voters of Montana reelect plain, progressive Lee Metcalf to the United States Senate is an open question at the moment. Montana is more conservative than it used to be in the days of Burton Wheeler and James Murray, the days before the copper mines were automated (fewer miners, fewer populist votes) and before cattle and wheat became as important as they now are. Montana has had one Democratic governor in 30 years. Yet in presidential elections, it is counted a swing state and usually votes for the winning presidential candidate, and a John Kraft poll of the state released last week shows a shift in Metcalf's favor. A year ago 45 percent said they would vote for Metcalf; today that figure is 48 percent; and Metcalf's opponent has dropped from 42 to 38 percent. (Interestingly, the same poll shows approval of Senator Mike Mansfield up from 78 to 83 percent, while 53 percent think that LBJ is doing a good job, as against 65 percent last year.)

Since campaigns are less expensive and politics a bit less organized in a sparsely populated state (and since its senator has the same voting power as a senator from New York or California), outsiders can move in and get more political bang for the buck. That is what the raucous right has been doing in Montana. "Reds back Metcalf," *Human Events* (Sept. 3, 1966) proclaims. "Ultra-liberal . . . Metcalf . . . who faces a tough fight for reelection, is the beneficiary of a glowing coverage in the communist press." The article cites alleged support of Metcalf by the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union which "the Senate internal security subcommittee found . . . was a communist-directed operation." And although Metcalf was one of the 16 senators who wrote President Johnson last January asking him not to renew the bombing of North Vietnam, he is getting it from peace-minded folk, too. Members of the American Federation of Teachers have in effect informed him that if he does not take a strong position alongside Senators Ernest Gruening and Wayne Morse, they won't vote at all.

Vietnam, however, has not been the major issue (though it is the second biggest problem in the minds of the undecided voters). The big issue is inflation. One housewife said to the senator: "Look, we have a fixed payment on our boat, and we have a fixed payment on our house, and we have a fixed payment on our two cars, and the only flexibility we have is our grocery account, and now the groceries take all that's left and a little more!"

Metcalf's opponent, Governor Tim Babcock, is a Goldwaterite who survived the Johnson flash flood in 1964. Last May, Mr. Goldwater visited Montana and told a Great Falls Republican audience that he would "do anything that Tim Babcock wants me to do. . . . I'd climb the highest mountain on my knees." The climb is not expected to take place, but Republicans say that Mr. Goldwater's warm endorsement reached out to what they call their "jackrabbit [rural, conservative] counties."

Metcalf's 14 years in Congress – eight in the House – symbolize just about everything the Goldwaterites hate in Washington. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 is an outgrowth of the first comprehensive aid to education legislation, the Murray-Metcalf bill (defeated in the Senate in 1960 by Richard Nixon's tie-breaking vote). Metcalf is identified with Medicare. His first act as a congressman in 1953 was to introduce legislation to extend federal safety protection to the metal miners – legislation that was finally passed this year and signed into law by President Johnson in September. Less known has been the senator's role in developing and serving as first chairman of the liberal House Democratic Study Group (DSG).

The "ultra" tag won't be easy to pin on Metcalf. His

voting record is nearly identical to that of Senate Majority Leader Mansfield, who was himself the target of an even more vicious right-wing attack in 1952. Because of Mansfield's great popularity, the immediate GOP hope is to divorce Metcalf from the senior senator. The two of them voted the same way in the 88th Congress 85 percent of the time (83 percent in 1965), but Metcalf has not been as formidable a vote-getter as Mansfield. Their styles are dissimilar. Montana's Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), for instance, still boasts a letter from Mansfield which praised their organization in a polite pro-forma response to YAF correspondence. There is none on record from Metcalf. Mansfield's mild manner projects in Montana as conservatism. Metcalf's more blunt style is used by his detractors as evidence of "ultra-liberalism." Babcock, therefore, is singing Mansfield's praises. But before the campaign is over, Mansfield will be telling voters that as majority leader he has grave national and international problems and that he hopes Montanans will send somebody back who will help him, as Metcalf has helped him, to do the domestic chores, instead of sending somebody to Washington who will put a gun at his back all the time.

Eighteen months before announcing his candidacy for the Senate, Governor Babcock made one of those "I-have-no-ambitions" pronouncements. Then, in 1966, he said that "I don't think it's right to win one office and hold it while running for another . . . even Bobby Kennedy had the integrity to resign when he sought another office." But after announcing for the Senate, he stated that his "dedication to the state of Montana" prevented his resigning the governorship, although the young lieutenant governor and his fellow moderate Republicans thought otherwise.

The Metcalf campaign has centered on the senator's own congressional record as evidence that he brings material benefits to Montana. Babcock's greatest gubernatorial sin, Metcalf tells his audiences, is his anti-federal assistance attitude, combined with a lack of compensating initiative at the state level: "At least most of the Republican governors are attempting to develop state programs." He points out that Babcock is the only governor who has vetoed a state-passed air pollution bill. Babcock's moratorium on state water development is unforgivable, Metcalf says – a forfeiture of valuable interstate rights to neighboring states.

The money is with the Babcock people; Metcalf is being outspent about six to one. Republican posters have broken out all over the state like measles. Metcalf's response is to say that he will not have any billboards; he is on the senate committee with legislative responsibility for billboard advertising, and he and Lady Bird just aren't going to clutter up the highways with posters.

Georgia and the Pursuit Of Reasonableness

Atlanta

Georgia's first primary, held two weeks ago, was more than a replay of old faces and old themes. It was a test of how far Georgia has progressed down the road to reason, and the answer is quite far. Its trip into the 20th century started with the election of Ernest Vandiver as governor in 1958 and picked up pace four years later with the elections of Governor Carl Sanders and Congressman Charles Weltner. It received fresh impetus last week, as moderate Ellis Arnall ran first, and moderate Jimmy Carter third among Democratic candidates for governor; as Lieutenant Governor Peter Zack Geer, the most reactionary major politician in the state, failed to win renomination outright; and as a handful of strongly conservative challengers were soundly whipped by moderate incumbents in other races. It received an additional push, though most Georgians wouldn't agree, from the renomination of Julian Bond, the young Negro civil rights official who was denied his seat in the state legislature because of his opposition to the war in Vietnam and his frank admiration for the courage of draft-card burners.

A few months ago, the fight for governor was a two-way affair, with former governors Vandiver and Arnall struggling for the right to face the first serious Republican challenger in modern times, Howard (Bo) Callaway. Then, abruptly and dramatically, the whole picture changed. Vandiver announced that his health was so poor, following several heart attacks, that his doctors had directed him to withdraw. A half hour later, Senator Herman Talmadge announced that he would come home and, in Vandiver's stead, carry the Democratic banner against Bo Callaway.

The Vandiver-Talmadge announcements stunned the Georgia public and dismayed Ellis Arnall. Given Talmadge's popularity among the home folk, second only to that of Senator Richard Russell, Arnall would have no chance at all of winning the Democratic nomination. But only a few days later, Talmadge said he would not run for governor after all but would stay in Washington as Georgia's junior senator. The word among the knowledgeable was that Talmadge's change of mind was dictated not by the pleas of the people but by stern warnings of Georgia business leaders, who did not want to lose one of their few powerful voices in Washington. Herman Talmadge, leader of the clan whose political acumen is legendary, had made a naïve and potentially damaging political error.

Ellis Arnall has plenty of political acumen of his own, and he made so much capital of the Vandiver-

Talmadge maneuvering that most of the prospective fill-in candidates for the two men were too nervous to enter the race. So the machine, the "courthouse gang," as it's known in Georgia, had to go into the primary's most important race without a bona fide candidate. Instead, five men entered against Arnall, of whom only three mattered — James Gray, Albany newspaper publisher; Lester Maddox, who closed his Atlanta restaurant rather than integrate under dictates of the 1964 Civil Rights Act; and Jimmy Carter, a boyishly handsome but little-known former state senator. Maddox spoke in folksy, often ungrammatical terms, appealing without guile to thousands of hard-core supporters who see him as the people's champion of the segregationist cause. Gray, like many a Yankee come South (he is a New Englander who went to Dartmouth), is more rabidly pro status quo than native Southerners. His message, smoothly delivered by a well-financed campaign machine, was always the same: elect James Gray, and he will take care of the "nigger" problem. Maddox was dismissed by thinking Georgians as a political eccentric. But Gray, speaking of maintaining "law and order," was rightly regarded as a threat to the progress of the state. He excited the old racial fears and hatreds by asking voters, "Are you afraid to walk alone at night?" and by advocating formation of local militias to deal with outside agitators.

Arnall condemned the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the civil strife he said it promoted in Atlanta early last month, but he refrained from traditional Southern race baiting and from belaboring the favorite public targets of Southern conservatives, the federal government and Lyndon Johnson. He argued that more money, not less, should be spent on Georgia's needs, particularly education. Arnall, 59, is an effective campaigner of the old gallsnapping school, and he had his record as governor to point to: his administration (1943-46) abolished the poll tax, rewrote the archaic state constitution and gave the vote to 18-year-olds. He was one of the best governors in Georgia history, and that, together with his great personal vitality, had a powerful influence.

A few days before the primary, Lester Maddox charged that agents of another candidate had offered him \$100,000 to get out of the race. He challenged James Gray to take a lie-detector test with him to see whether Gray was the other candidate, as Maddox believed. Gray declined, and the incident was quickly forgotten in a state used to such shenanigans. Ellis Arnall ran first, as everyone knew he would, but he failed to get anything near the majority required to avoid a runoff. Maddox squeezed into second place. The big surprises were Gray, who finished a not-too-robust fourth, and Jimmy Carter. Carter, "Jimmy Who?" at the start of the campaign, did remarkably

well. He overcame his obscurity and unexciting platform style with a warm, Kennedyesque approach that stressed his youth (he is 41), his sincerity and his moderation. Until the last south Georgia counties came in, he held second place over Maddox. Carter is obviously future governor material, possibly as early as 1970.

In the September 28 runoff, Arnall rates a decisive edge over Maddox, who is believed easier for the former governor to beat than either Gray or Carter would have been. Simple Lester Maddox, who hates "ungodly communists" and the civil rights movement with equal passion, repels even some segregationists. The contest now is not the runoff primary but the November election. Young, handsome Bo Callaway has not even opened his campaign, yet today he stands, Republican ties and all, the decided favorite.

Callaway's high standing is not pure racism or reaction on the part of Georgia voters. To be sure, he is a product of Goldwater and 1964 (he was first elected to Congress that year, after switching from Democrat to Republican), and he would not be anywhere near where he is today without the Goldwater boom. But he has other assets. He is younger even than Jimmy Carter, and retains his youthful, square-jawed good looks. He is wealthy, and it is old-line Georgia wealth: his family owns Callaway Mills, a prosperous textile firm, and Callaway Gardens, one of the South's leading tourist attractions. He is articulate enough and, more important, is personable in the manner of well-brought-up Southern boys; he is full of disarming grins and modest laughs and jokes. Then too, there is a genuine desire among Georgians, many of them well-heeled and influential, to create a two-party system in their state. They argue that Callaway offers the best chance Georgia has had to build a strong Republican Party.

But Bo Callaway is to the right of what even the South regards as the political center. He built an undistinguished but strongly conservative record in his two years in Congress. He is consistently critical of the civil rights movement, the federal government, organized labor, *et al.*, often in terms disconcertingly similar to those used by George Wallace. If Bo is to be beaten in November, Arnall will have to appeal as no Southern Democrat ever has to the traditional Democratic leanings of the Georgia electorate. He will also have to tarnish Callaway's golden-boy image. It may be a rough, abusive campaign.

The runoff in the lieutenant governor's race has importance far beyond that office. If Peter Zack Geer is reelected, many Georgians fear he might well wind up as governor before his term is out. The reasoning goes like this: if aging Senator Richard Russell does not complete the new term he has just won and if Bo Callaway becomes governor, Callaway will appoint himself to the Senate, leaving the governorship in the hands of

Geer. Geer is a crudely segregationist politician who, a few years ago, commended anti-Negro rioters at the University of Georgia for their "courage and character" and who, last summer, urged suspension of the civil liberties of Negroes who tore down an American flag in a south Georgia disturbance. Georgia House Speaker George T. Smith, a moderate, forced Geer into the run-off and is thought to have a chance of beating him.

In Atlanta's 135th district, Julian Bond won renomination to the state House of Representatives. He has yet to sit in that chamber. He was first refused his seat after a stormy legislative session last January. His subsequent lawsuit, challenging both the legislature's right to certify its members and its right to refuse him membership because it disagrees with his views on public issues, lost 2-1 in federal court. He is taking his case to the US Supreme Court, where it will be heard this fall.

Meanwhile, Bond strengthened his case by winning another test at the polls. He narrowly defeated Malcolm Dean, Negro administrator at Atlanta University, in

the primary. Dean told voters that a vote for Bond was a vote wasted because the House would not seat Bond and would isolate him if the courts forced his seating. Bond replied that his constituents, not white Georgia legislators, should be able to pick their representative and that he was confident he would be seated. Bond, who resigned as information director of SNCC shortly before the primary, nevertheless accepted the help of Snickers in his campaign. He did not make an issue of the Vietnam war but did not dodge it. "We shouldn't be there, we should get out," he told questioners in his heavily-Negro district. Their response, he says, "was generally one of agreement, and I never got an argument about it."

For the rest of this political autumn in Georgia, Vietnam will be an issue only in Julian Bond's district. Georgians are heavily in favor of the war and the President's conduct of it, leaving candidates free to talk about race and the federal presence. They are the Georgia issues in 1966.

LBJ's Club—the Whiff of Scandal

The President's Club, an experiment in reverse populism, has attracted the attention of Republicans searching for issues. The club, bearing the imprimatur of Lyndon Johnson, has no rules, keeps no minutes, does no good deeds and transacts no business that anyone talks about, but its annual dues are impressive.

For \$1,000 a year, or more, more than 2,500 affluent Americans of both political parties have joined the club. This entitles them, according to Clifton Carter, former executive director of the Democratic National Committee, to a "direct relationship" with President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey and other top government officials. Members of the club are invited to White House social functions, are assured of direct access to the wielders of power and may even be consulted on federal appointments. The response has been enthusiastic; since its inception in 1961, the club has raised in excess of \$6.5 million for national Democratic coffers, plus other sums at the state level, and it now produces more revenue than regular contributions to the party's national committee — \$917,254 and \$642,553 respectively in the first quarter of this year.

The Republicans suspect that there is more to the club than camaraderie with the mighty. The GOP put a team of college students to work this summer checking the club's financial reports to the clerk of the House. In the past few weeks, as the congressional election campaign has heated up, the Republicans have brought to light a batch of case histories that, says Rep. Charles

E. Goodell (R, N.Y.), reveals "a web of political intrigue and influence peddling." Yet Goodell acknowledges that all the Republicans have shown thus far is a series of "amazing coincidences." Mr. Johnson, who has seen scandals come and go, told reporters August 24 that donations to the President's Club do not influence the award of government contracts. "I think," he said, "that you can expect to have periodic political charges of this kind until November. That has been my experience." He could have added that the Harding scandals did not defeat Coolidge or Hoover.

Nevertheless, the President might be well advised to ask himself whether a fund-raising device so closely identified with the Presidency is politically preferable to the national committee mechanism. It is realistic to expect that sooner or later the opposition will come up with a letter or telephone call (after the fashion of Sherman Adams) from some official to some bureaucrat, recommending a favor for a President's Club member. Mr. Johnson, dogged by the wheeler-dealer image, will not enjoy Eisenhower's immunity to allegations of corruption. The Republicans are confident that each new "amazing coincidence" will tarnish the President who lets the President's Club exist, whether or not impropriety is proved.

That the club is a time bomb for Mr. Johnson can be seen in the fact that it was an employee of Anheuser-Busch, Inc. of St. Louis who alerted the Republicans to their first President's Club coincidence. There may be

more such anonymous tips from disgruntled or indignant hirelings or minor officeholders.

In the Busch case, the GOP discovered that officers of the nation's largest brewery, and their wives, contributed a total of \$10,000 to the President's Club less than a month before the Justice Department dropped an antitrust proceeding against the company. The brewery replied that any suggestion of a connection was "preposterous." A few weeks later, the GOP charged that a \$1.3 million antipoverty contract was awarded to Consolidated American Services, Inc., whose senior vice president had contributed \$2,000 to the President's Club, although Con Am did not meet "several important requirements" for the contract and was not one of the four firms recommended by poverty officials.

This was followed by another "amazing coincidence" involving Project Mohole, the controversial attempt to drill through the earth's crust, and the big Texas firm of Brown and Root, which has the prime contract for Mohole. On May 10 of this year, the House voted to kill the \$19.7 million appropriation for Mohole. On May 13, members of the family of Brown and Root board chairman George Brown contributed a total of \$23,000 to the President's Club. On May 18, Mr. Johnson sent a message to Congress requesting, among other things that the Mohole funds be restored. Brown and Root got the Mohole contract, although its bid was almost double the lowest offer. But Chairman Brown, a longtime friend of Mr. Johnson, said it was "ridiculous" to suggest any improper connections.

Now the GOP has turned its attention to the Veterans Administration. A group of House Republicans, among them Rep. Goodell, Donald Rumsfeld (Ill.) and Bob Wilson (Calif.), are asking whether there is any relationship between the award of VA contracts and donations to the President's Club. They have cited instances involving VA hospitals in Los Angeles and San Diego. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* has reported the award of a design contract to an Atlanta architect who later contributed \$10,000 (the architect denied any connection), and the GOP promises more to come.

Questions about the President's Club are not confined to the matter of government contracts. The club's own financial affairs are intriguing. In particular, reports are circulating about a mysterious bank loan to the club, with this background:

In 1964, the club reported receiving and spending \$2.7 million, close to the legal limit of \$3 million. In 1965, it reported spending \$939,238 while taking in only \$378,244. If the difference of \$560,994 was a carry-over from 1964, then the club received \$3.2 million in that year, which would have exceeded the legal limit. If the \$560,994 was a loan, Rep. Goodell has pointed out, it was not reported. What actually happened, according to informed sources, was that the club got a

loan from a bank but did not want to report it, in order not to disclose the co-signers. But Section 302 (d) of the Corrupt Practices Act requires political committees to report all contributions and defines these as including "a gift, subscription, *loan*, advance or deposit of money, or anything of value."

On the roster of the President's Club are to be found the usual Democratic fat cats, party stalwarts, politicians, administration officials, members of Congress, ambassadors and lobbyists. Among the members are Sens. Clinton P. Anderson and J. William Fulbright, Govs. Harold E. Hughes of Iowa, Roger D. Branigin of Indiana, Frank G. Clement of Tennessee and Jack Campbell of New Mexico; Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Stanley S. Surrey; Leonard H. Marks, Director of the USIA, and Chairman John Harlee of the Federal Maritime Commission. Lobbyists Lloyd M. Cutler, Oscar L. Chapman, J. T. Rutherford and Cyrus T. Anderson are members, and so are Max H. Karl, a figure in the Bobby Baker case; Democratic sachem Clark M. Clifford; John S. Hayes, the new ambassador to Switzerland, and, of course, Perle Mesta and Gwen Cafritz.

Of greater interest to students of the party of Jefferson and Jackson is the large number of businessmen who are giving their largess, if not always their loyalty, to the Democrats. The President's Club boasts Walker L. Cisler of Detroit Edison; W. E. Grace of Fruehauf Trailer; Gardiner Symonds of Tennessee Gas Transmission; publisher Gardner Cowles; industrialist Alfred A. Strelsin; Charles Revson of Revlon, Inc.; investment bankers Paul Manheim and Maurice Newton; Arthur Krim of United Artists (sometimes listed as president of the club); Clint Murchison Jr. and John D. Murchison; oilmen John W. Mecom, Wesley West and Paul F. Barnhart; K. S. Adams and Stanley Learned of Phillips Petroleum, and a host of lesser business executives. The Texas power elite dominates the membership roster. In one three-month period this year, there were 701 contributors to the club, of which 464 were from the Lone Star state.

The President's Club, in other words, is a graphic illustration of a transformation that has been taking place in American politics. Business knows where the action is, and, financially, more and more of it is in the federal government. The Democrats have become the party of the big contributor. Herbert E. Alexander, former executive director of President Kennedy's commission on campaign costs, points out that contributions of \$500 or more accounted for 69 percent of all the money received by the national Democratic Party in 1964, compared with 44 percent in 1956. On the other hand, gifts of \$500 or more to the Republican Party nationally plummeted to 28 percent of the total in 1964, compared with 74 percent in 1956.

JAMES DEAKIN

New Cities Are Big Business

by James Ridgeway

The large corporation is beginning to act as if it, not the government, will be the institution to produce social change over the next few years. One example is the education business. Its beginnings were described in this journal last June. More recently, General Electric Company announced it was looking around for land near a large metropolitan area on which to build the first of several new cities. The population of the first would be about 100,000; the project might take 15 or 20 years and cost up to \$1 billion. This unusual proposal would give the company a chance to create new markets for products it wants to introduce, like electric transport systems, and ways of handling water supply and pollution. It would result in a large manufacturing concern entering the home-building business. Home building is spread out among thousands of different firms, none of which has the resources to introduce and sustain new concepts.

Money has got even tighter since GE made its announcement in late August, and this may throw the plans out of kilter. But the company insists it is serious about building new cities, and others may soon be getting involved. Whether any of this will amount to much more than a con game remains to be seen. It certainly does not bring any relief to the slums of the existing cities which are afire.

Last winter John H. Rubel, vice president of Litton Industries and a former assistant secretary of defense, said we ought to tackle urban problems by creating a "new city" technology. The way to do it, he said, "is to start handling the creation of new cities or new towns the way we handle the creation of new projects in space. This means making ad hoc projects . . . creating a marketplace . . . one that does not now exist and never has, where private industry can come and sell the development, creation and administration of new cities. That is how we built our bombers. That is how we created the Atlas, the Titan, the Polaris and a host of incredibly complex, wholly new, never-before-attempted systems." Rubel suggests Congress charter a private-public corporation along the lines of Comsat, which, keeping certain rather general objectives in mind, could purchase, develop and manage land for new cities. Some of the land might be got away from the Interior Department's large holdings.

When Rubel was assistant secretary in the Defense

Department and helping to draft the poverty program, he argued that industry could be involved in social problems if the government would create a market. He saw the Job Corps as one market, and a number of companies, including Litton, now are running Job Corps camps. The Job Corps may be a good market for industry, but it is not working out very well for the youngsters who are barely getting into the army.

While Litton is not building new communities yet in this country, it is moving in that general direction with its regional development plans abroad. The company is in the midst of negotiations with the Greek government for a contract to manage a \$1-billion economic development scheme on the island of Crete and in the western Peloponnesus. The idea is to build up agriculture along with the tourist business. First, Litton would make a detailed "systems analysis" of what needs to be done. In particular this would involve integrating air, water and land transport. The company then plans the various projects, obtains foreign financing, and supervises the actual building. Litton hopes this approach will work elsewhere. Along with a group of Arabs and European bankers, Litton has set up a company that will develop Arabia and Lebanon for private industry. It has done a study of the possibilities for Appalachia, and when Rubel finishes work on a shipping contract, he is expected to examine how the company might involve itself in new cities.

Other companies are more directly engaged in building residential communities. Some, like Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company and Humble Oil, have big land holdings on which they want to turn a profit. Goodyear is constructing a new town called Litchfield Park for 100,000 residents outside Phoenix, on land it originally bought before World War I in fear the Germans would shut off supplies of Egyptian cotton. Humble Oil has Clear Lake City under development near Houston; it will hold 160,000 people. In its search for diversification, the Pennsylvania Railroad last year bought control of three realty companies that are developing residential real estate along both coasts of Florida, in Texas, and in Georgia. In June, Westinghouse purchased Coral Ridge Properties, Inc., a Fort Lauderdale enterprise that is making a new city called Coral Springs. Westinghouse talks about experimenting there with some new systems. It has a factory that turns garbage into ferti-

lizer which can be sold to landscape gardeners, as well as a computer-operated rapid transit system called the Skybus. Westinghouse also makes water desalinization plants, nuclear power stations, and plans to use computers in teaching.

In the West, a recent survey by the *Journal of Home-builders* suggests that the tight money problem has hastened mergers by petroleum companies and building materials concerns with large developers.

The two large aluminum companies, Reynolds and Alcoa, are in big urban renewal projects. They got into the business both for investment and to sell aluminum. Alcoa now has majority holdings in realty developments worth \$400 million. Originally the company entered joint ventures with William Zeckendorf, but when he collapsed, Alcoa took on his portion. They look like vertical trusts, controlling the mining, manufacture and marketing of aluminum.

The General Electric scheme is by far the most elaborate. Where Rubel would have the government create markets for city building (as it does in its space work), GE is moving toward creating its own markets. GE is an enormous manufacturing concern; it can bring in financing on reasonable terms and stay with the job for 10 or 15 years. (It is taking the developers of new towns perhaps eight years to begin to get a return on their money, which puts them in a bind.) And GE makes many of the things needed to build a city. It already has some experience in small community development through investment and control of "all electric" suburban projects in San Francisco and West Haven, Conn. Nelson Foote, the sociologist who works for GE, was a member of the task force which helped plan Columbia, the new town now being built between Baltimore and Washington. For the past year, consultants to GE have been working on the new city scheme.

Creating New Markets

There are a number of things GE might do in a new city which it would otherwise find difficult to put across. For example, it has been working on a short-haul electric vehicle. People might drive gasoline-powered autos into parking lots at the edge of GE's new town, and then rent electric cars to get them around inside the city. GE could own the cars, and take care of servicing the batteries. A new city would create a market for the General Learning Corporation, the Time-GE education combine. The company could use its computers in setting up a utility. Under this arrangement, the municipal government, schools and hospitals as well as industry, could share the time of these computers for their bookkeeping. GE makes nuclear power plants; it could centralize heating and air conditioning for the entire city; the company could experiment with

new methods of water supply and pollution control, and finance installment purchase of consumer goods.

Most important, however, it could get into the home-building business. A new town, it's argued, is not encumbered with the antiquated building codes in force in the older cities; and if they are lucky, the developers can get around the obstructionist construction unions whose elaborate work rules force up the price of housing. GE has the size to experiment. Very probably housing can be prefabricated in units at factories and then shipped out to the site on trucks. After throwing up a superstructure, workers might unload and insert a kitchen unit, then a whole bathroom. Walls can have the electric lines laid in at the factory, and they can be plugged together when the walls are put in place. This is the kind of thing GE and the other big companies can be expected to try out. It ought to bring down the cost of housing considerably.

Up to now, the new towns have represented the imagination and enterprise of individual builders. A good deal of their money has come from insurance companies. Thus, Robert E. Simon, Jr., the New York investor who is building Reston, Virginia, is financed by John Hancock and more recently by Gulf Oil (which is putting up gas stations and has the home heating market in mind). James Rouse, the mortgage banker, is financing Columbia with money from Connecticut General Life, Teachers Insurance and the Chase Manhattan Bank.

While the government does not offer much in the way of subsidy to the new towns, it can influence them by where it sets down federal installations. Clear Lake City is near Houston, which is booming with the big space installation. Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall recently came to the aid of Reston with a promise to build the new offices of the US Geological Survey in the city. This will immediately bring in 2,400 people, many of whom can be expected to live there. Half-a-dozen research firms, the "think tanks" that flourish at the edge of government, are opening offices at Reston. Because of its position between Washington and Baltimore, Columbia will hope to draw commuters from both cities. Thus far, it has been bypassed by the government installations that are spreading out of Washington. But it has a large research laboratory from Johns Hopkins University, and, like Reston, anticipates drawing people from the research firms spread along the roadway between the two cities. Both towns eventually plan to offer some inexpensive housing for low-income people who will work for the government and in the shops in town.

Both Reston and Columbia seem to be hitting a new market. They will appeal to people who live in the suburbs and who, in increasing numbers, work at research and the administration of research (the sorts

of people David Bazelon calls the New Class in the September *Commentary*). Until recently many of them have been leading rather frustrating lives. They look back with nostalgia to universities which they left only to flounder about at the edges of corporations and government. They have been pushing papers back and forth to one another and nobody has paid much attention. Ten years ago, it was important for a big corporation to have a few economists around for image; now they are apt to have social scientists all over the place to write the plans for the projected system they want to sell. In the government, the social scientists have played a major role in shaping and running first the retraining programs in the Labor Department, and now the Office of Economic Opportunity. Bringing all these types together in one place may give the city the character of a university.

Retirement Villages

Among the most interesting experiments with new communities are the Leisure World retirement towns built by Ross Cortese, the California builder. Backed by Metropolitan Life, Cortese has constructed five Leisure Worlds in California, New Jersey, Illinois and in Maryland. I recently visited the one at Wheaton, Maryland, which will hold 25,000 people when completed. It is just outside Washington, D.C., and you can spot the entrance by a garish unisphere. Once you get past this, however, the place is pleasant enough. At the center of a complex I was shown, there is an attractive clubhouse. It fronts on a golf course; bowling greens, a swimming pool and stables are close at hand. There is a cafeteria in the clubhouse and a health clinic down the road. They are building an enclosed shopping center. The houses and apartments are arranged in clusters and the whole works is connected by walkways and free bus service. The least expensive apartment is a one-bedroom garden apartment which sells for \$10,995. Everyone is required to put down \$2,600 and then pays \$159.50 monthly over 40 years. The monthly payment not only includes interest and principal on the loan, but pays for utilities, 80 percent of the cost of health care for two people, fire insurance, police protection, maintenance and free use of the social and recreational facilities. People must be 52 or older to qualify for living in the town. And they must not have children or grandchildren live with them permanently.

Cortese may soon expand this business by forging direct links with large corporations and labor unions. He may build next near Detroit.

As it stands, there are two main groups who are in the business of building new communities: the independent developers backed mainly by insurance companies, and now, slowly, the big industrial corporations.

Individual developers argue that things will end up better if they do the planning and building, for they can pick and choose among the products of the industrial companies to make the best deal in behalf of the new town's future residents. The large corporations will say, as GE is arguing, that their divisions are like separate companies and hotly competitive. According to this theory, GE, the new city developer, would turn down GE, the manufacturer of nuclear plants, if it could get a cheaper plant from Westinghouse or do the job more efficiently by bringing in electricity from a coal plant. Still, GE can't very well widen its own markets by selling Westinghouse products.

GE will not say where it is planning to buy land for building the first of its new cities. If word got out, speculators could drive land prices up. But why should the planning of a new city be kept secret? As Rouse suggests, regional and local governments should have authority to set up development corporations to purchase land, and get the federal government's backing in developing a new town on it. For its part, the federal government ought to be using the distribution of its facilities as a means to channel the growth of a variety of new towns. This could be a prime consideration in its decisions on where its big defense contracts go.

Of course, all of this unfortunately bypasses the slums of the existing cities, where Rubel's markets ought to be created. Senator Robert Kennedy recently proposed a scheme which might bring the big corporations into these depressed areas. He would set up community development corporations in the slums. They would be nonprofit organizations run by the citizens themselves. They could acquire property, then plan their neighborhood and carry out the renovation and building. The corporation would hire the residents and train them to do the job; it could encourage the development of other enterprises, which would make jobs and provide a market for goods and services. While such a corporation might at first need an injection of funds from the government, over the long haul it should hope for money from banks, insurance companies and the large industrial corporations. The government could help out in the acquisition of land and by insuring loans. It might be possible to carry Senator Kennedy's proposal one step further, by permitting nonprofit community development organizations, as a matter of course, to float securities in the tax-exempt bond markets. These securities could be insured by the government. There is nothing unusual about this; the government now insures millions of dollars in securities that are sold to build merchant ships. Companies might form consortiums for an initial investment. General Electric, Metropolitan Life and the Chase Manhattan Bank could join in financing the development of Watts, Harlem and the west side of Chicago.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN *The "Explosion" Explosion*

In 1952 Frederick Lewis Allen published *The Big Change*, subtitled "America Transforms Itself 1900-1950." Now John Brooks, with Allen as his presumable model, presents *The Great Leap** which deals with the past 25 years in America. The fact that there is a place (as there is) for this second, overlapping book so soon after its model is itself an unspoken part of Brooks' thesis. His book is better organized and more incisive than Allen's, but I limit myself to one signal comparison. Allen's book builds to a demonstration "that the United States is not evolving toward socialism, but *past* socialism." Fourteen years later Brooks makes only two references to socialism, the longer of which is a page describing how the party was vitiated in the thirties.

The years since 1939 are crammed with changes so quick and huge that there is hardly an aspect of national life on which the tag "explosion" cannot be hung: population, corporation growth, culture, education, level of living. *The Great Leap* is laced with startling statistics and facts; here are two, from the first two pages. In 1939 the average production-worker's weekly wage was \$23.86. In 1939 the Sears, Roebuck catalogue, an invaluable socioeconomic index, advertised a handsome cast-iron coal range that was "the favorite of young moderns."

Brooks has undertaken to chronicle all the major changes in our national life, including those in science, morals, race relations, and attitudes toward other nations. Much of the factual material has been seen by most of us, but that does not mean it is familiar. We have forgotten most of it. Anyway, by recounting, grouping, and juxtaposing, Brooks has dramatized a staggering quarter-century. As he is also often a pungent commentator on the facts he assembles and a critic of the theory and myth that are attached to them, his book is valuable popular history: refreshing, sometimes enlightening, and generally entertaining.

A book of 382 pages that attempts to cover so many fields in those tumbling

tumultuous years has aimed at perspective rather than depth, and, with reservations to be explained, I think that Brooks has succeeded. For a start, he writes invitingly. He has a sense of point in sentence and paragraph, and he has wit. "Parents scarcely bring up children now; they finance them." (And surely it is wit that makes him quote straightfacedly the statistics on "the average number of cigars smoked per adult of either sex.")

He is never dull, but his eagerness not to be dull sometimes shows. There is an excess of slang. ("America did a slow take on Nazi genocide.") There are occasional sentences, sprightly enough, that only *seem* to say something. ("Jokes about summer people became local staples – and vice versa.") Brooks is unduly embarrassed by the need to state well-known facts, and he peppers his pages with the defensive phrase "of course." ("Party platforms are, of course, partisan political documents.")

There are small errors. Some small corrections: Regular TV programs existed before the end of the war. Clarence Day did not write the play *Life With Father*.

There are dubious opinions. Does "almost everyone" agree that Lincoln Center is a success in urban renewal? Was *Collier's* a "generally distinguished" magazine? Is there "inane and illogical liberal faith now in the automatic natural goodness of any Negro"? My own experience answers "no" to all these questions.

But there are larger matters which must be questioned. Surely a book devoted to change should pay considerable attention to the change in dollar values. Brooks includes only a few passing references to the matter and, unlike Allen, includes no relative scale. His comments on the arts are unsatisfactory. For example, he takes *The Web and the Rock* and *Herzog* as polar examples of novels of the quarter-century, but in comparing them does not perceive that the basic literary change in that period is the virtual disappearance of the middlebrow serious novelist. In the section on culture he devotes less than one full sentence to the theatre. Would one full sentence have been in-

flationary? He badly skimps the historical importance of the new National Council on the Arts.

In assuring us that American radicalism is not dead, Brooks concentrates on the "wildly (and perhaps characteristically) disorganized" efforts of the so-called "spontaneous Left." This may – perhaps – be appropriate in the political-action sense. At least those efforts are generally considered the most newsworthy of radical political activities. But Brooks' emphasis disregards the disproportionate effect that radical social critics and artists have on the intellectual life and climate of this country.

In commenting on the intensifying dialogue between science and society, Brooks says "American society's part in that dialogue consisted chiefly in doing what it perhaps knows best how to do, that is, in spending money." He soon partially contradicts this with some remarks about the new fashion of scientific knowledgeability. Neither passage is adequate even as a capsule rendering of the phenomenon that René Dubos has recently described:

"... Science has influenced modern thought and culture much more profoundly than is usually admitted. In fact, it is probable that most educated men have now incorporated concepts derived from theoretical science in their daily thoughts even more effectively than medieval or Renaissance Europeans ever incorporated Thomas Aquinas in their cosmologies or their ethics."

Generally Brooks tends to be more judicious than partisan. There are occasional firm judgments: "The notion that there is a single homogeneous power elite in the United States is as wrong as it could be." More often he tends to balance: "How well is the power [of huge corporations] being used? ... Less well than it should be and a good deal less badly than it might be." Or: "Culture is destined to survive, but Athens in America seems a long way off, too."

It can be argued that, in these in-

(Continued on page 38)

* *The Great Leap*, by John Brooks, (Harper & Row; \$6.95)

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Mailer's America

by John Wain

In the last decade and more, the name of Norman Mailer has often been associated with extra-literary publicity (to call it by its polite name). Many people have been inclined to discuss him as a stunt-merchant. Frankly, I have sometimes been close to that mood myself. How refreshing, then, to read Mailer's new book and be won over by its seriousness. Now we know for cer-

Cannibals and Christians
by Norman Mailer
(Dial; \$5.95)

tain that Mailer is in earnest: he is trying to position himself so as to stand face to face with the true identity of our time, our time in America.

He wants this insight because he wants to write about it. But, like all true writers, he writes because he wants the insight. It's a two-way process, and it has driven Mailer's mind hard. It has, for instance, driven him a certain distance into literary criticism, the effort to draw a map of the American novel which will locate his own standpoint. Dreiser, he says, was the last who tried to get American life whole, to capture the beast and bring it back alive:

"After his heriocratic failure, American literature was isolated – it was necessary to give courses in American literature to Americans, either because they would not otherwise read it, or because reading it, they could not understand it. It was not quite vital to them. It did not save their lives, make them more ambitious, more moral, more tormented, more audacious, more ready for love, more ready for war, for charity and for invention. No, it tended to puzzle them. The realistic literature had never caught up with the rate of change in American life, indeed it had fallen further and further behind, and the novel gave up any desire to be a creation equal to the

phenomenon of the country itself; it settled for being a metaphor. Which is to say that each separate author made a separate peace. He would no longer try to capture America, he would merely try to give life to some microcosm in American life, some metaphor – in the sense that a drop of water is a metaphor of the seas, or a hair of the beast is for some a metaphor of the beast – and in that metaphor he might – if he were very lucky – have it all, rich and poor, strategy and tactics, insight and manner, detail, authority, the works. He would have it all for a particular few."

By implication, Mailer's own effort is total. He is not interested in a separate peace. He is aware of the risks and rejoices in them. He is like Hemingway, for whom he has a great respect, in this at least, that he approaches his work as a bullfighter approaches a dangerous bull, knowing that if he makes a mistake it will kill him. And most writers are killed, even though nobody cares enough to go to their funeral.

I don't know what response Mailer

would arouse in me if I were an American. Of all nationalities, the English and Americans are ultimately the most opaque to one another. No Englishman can *quite* imagine what it must be like to be an American, and vice versa. That is why we fascinate and irritate each other so much. The response he arouses in me as an Englishman, then, is an anxious sense of involvement, a longing for clarity, a thirst for honesty and self-knowledge. Involvement first and foremost, for none of us can be indifferent to the fate of America. If America goes down, then those of us who are her allies will go down today, and those who are her enemies will go down tomorrow, because they will lose those qualities that are kept alive by the tension of their opposites. Communism, for example, could not retain its classic form if there were no powerful mirror-image of capitalism. It would become the sound of one-handed clapping, political masturbation.

None of us can be indifferent to the fate of America, and all of us know that America is today, as Mailer says, smitten by a plague. We have been slow to realize this because it has been a hard fact to take in. Ever since 1939, every European has had an underlying envy of America. Her troubles never seemed as bad as ours, we who were bombed

Marching Blues

(for guitar)

Sometimes I think this highway's bound no where,
Sometimes I think this highway's bound no where,
Just because a man's got ears, that don't mean he's got to hear.

Mothers and children waiting by the road,
Mothers with their children waiting by the road,
Just because I'm walking, that don't mean I could not ride.

I wonder what would happen if the sun did shine all night,
Wonder what would happen if the sun did shine all night,
Black would still be black, child, and white would still be white.

Nothing but time now can heal away my pain,
Nothing but time now can heal away my pain,
But just because I'm hurting, that don't mean I'm down again.

GERALD JONAS

and rationed and threatened first by the Gestapo and then by the Red Army, whose cities were flattened, whose wealth was drained, whose impetus was exhausted and clogged with self-pity. And now, suddenly, in the last year or two, it has become the assumption that to be an American is an unlucky thing. Instead of peace and safety, full granaries and rich foundations, it has become a land of agony and indecision, a land of choked cities full of fidgeting people, where the endless suburban streets of ranch-type houses mock the old values of the frontier, while in the center of the city the raging Negro shakes at the bars of his slum prison. A land where no human motive is ever quite real, where love is mixed up with drugs and art is mixed up with advertising, where boys go to college for four years and then are sent to the Far East to be shot at by little men hiding in trees.

I describe this plague much less memorably than Mailer. He is writing the book, I am only reviewing it, so he is the one who pulls the stops out. Besides, he is an all-or-nothing man, a natural extremist who leaps to the challenge of an extreme situation. This is very much the time for him. In a time of compromise, he would seem like a mountebank. In a time of panic and mortal illness, he becomes prophetic.

Prophetic? Isn't that too strong a word? For some parts of the book, perhaps. After all, it is a collection of odds and ends, bound together by a commentary, and some of the odds and ends ought to have been left out. (One soon

learns, for instance, to skip the "poems," for Mailer has no power to write memorably in verse.) But there are moments, plenty of them, when the thinking, without losing its urgency and immediacy, becomes fine-edged—on the art of the absurd, for instance:

"Born in a sterile room, the new baby does not die of puerperal fever, nor does his mother. Rather at 18 months he shows his first sign of genius—he turns on the television set by himself. Soon his consciousness is formed on collisions and interruptions, trips on highways with billboards, radio blasts, construction blasts, car horns, brakes, a train goes by tying the 19th Century to the 20th. That 19th Century raised babies on frustration. The art which came out of that late 19th Century of iron frustration was the early 20th-Century art of self-expression with Joyce and Picasso to head the list. The children who came after the Second World War grew up however not on frustration but interruption—so the arts of the mid-century are the arts of the absurd and deal with categories and hierarchies of discontinuity and the style of their breaks. Art is here on earth to uplift us, to encourage the religious and the non-religious to feel a heavenly glow—so declared the caretakers of art for two thousand years. But now art is a heart pill—nitroglycerine—it binds shattered nerves together by shattering them all over again with style, with wit, each explosion a guide to building a new nervous system."

Criticism like this comes at its subject from the inside. It does not take a stand on some imaginary fulcrum which can be dismantled as soon as the act of criticism is over. Mailer is not altogether free of the faults he condemns, and he has the sense not to try to be. He engages with the 20th-Century mess and some of the mess rubs off on him. "In the destructive element immerse." That is one attitude. Its opposite might be expressed in Edmund Blunden's line, "I am for the woods against the world." To turn your back on the mess and walk in the woods is a way out—for a time. But if we do not make some attempt to manage the world, it will run mad and overwhelm

everything, including the woods, with its madness. So Mailer has made, successfully, the effort to be entirely of his time and yet to be critical of that time and diagnose its ill-health.

This comes out at a number of points. Mailer has finally managed, for instance, to admit a sense of the past into his thinking. He has seen the modern panic flight from the past as what it is—an inability to face responsibilities. He is incisive and scathing about the neutralizing impulse behind modern egg-box architecture, so often praised because it breaks away from the past. The passage is too long to quote, but here is part of it:

"The totalitarian impulse not only washes away distinctions but looks for a style in buildings, in clothing, and in the ornamentations of tools, appliances, and daily objects which will diminish one's sense of function and reduce one's sense of reality by reducing such emotions as awe, dread, beauty, pity, terror, calm, horror, and harmony. By dislocating us from the most powerful emotions of reality, totalitarianism leaves us further isolated in the empty landscapes of psychosis, precisely that inner landscape of void and dread which we flee by turning to totalitarian styles of life."

Mailer here is using the word "totalitarianism" to mean its American form, unconscious and not backed by any program of destroying the individual, but nevertheless destroying him, as it were, absentmindedly. But his words are timely in a season that has seen the hatred of the past suddenly run riot in China, with mobs of adolescents wearing red arm-bands hurrying to smash Buddhist shrines, trample graveyards and slap nuns in the name of liberation from the strangling past. No less than American children, these young Chinese will find themselves, in Mailer's words, "marooned in an endless hallway of the present."

This book shows Mailer pacing that endless hallway with rage and frustration, but also with compassion for the people trapped in it, and a constructive wish to make it lead to some more spacious place. These are the right qualities. He could yet become a major writer.

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BOOKS-ON-FILE

Union City

New Jersey

Education: The Racial Gap

by Christopher Jencks

Equality of Educational Opportunity is not light reading. Prepared as a US Office of Education report to Congress, it is written in the workmanlike prose of an Agriculture Department bulletin on fertilizer. Well over half its 737 pages are filled with tables, charts, and questionnaires, most of which will be virtually incomprehensible to those who are not trained in statistics. Recognizing that neither educators nor laymen

Equality of Educational Opportunity
by James S. Coleman, et al.
(Government Printing Office; \$4.50)

would be willing to struggle through such a morass, the Office of Education issued a summary (Government Printing Office, 35 cents), but this is hardly more satisfactory. It omits some of the most interesting findings of the larger Report, and gives no more sense of the social and personal realities which lie behind the statistics.

Despite its defects as literature, the Report is the most important piece of educational research in recent years. To begin with, its scale is unprecedented. The study surveyed more than half a million students and 60,000 teachers in 4,000 schools, at a cost of \$1.5 million. The survey was nominally intended to document the extent and effects of racial segregation, North and South, but it actually did far more. It does not, after all, take \$1.5 million to show that Americans of different colors usually attend different schools, and that those with darker skins usually have worse facilities, worse teachers, less varied programs and less stimulating classmates. The revolutionary thing about James Coleman's study is that it went beyond this well-known if depressing fact to ask what effect different school characteristics had on what individual students, white and black, actually learned. Shocking as it may seem, this question had never before been examined in a systematic way. There has been a lot of speculation and some small-scale research about the relative influence of genes, family background, personal values, school facilities, school programs, teachers and classmates on

individual achievement. But Dr. Coleman and his collaborators are the first sociologists with the interest and the resources to investigate this problem on a national scale. Their findings are as relevant to white middle-class schools in Scarsdale and Peoria as to Negro schools in Harlem or Lowndes.

While the authors themselves make no policy recommendations, their diagnosis of what makes students learn is at odds with almost everything legislators, school board members, and school administrators have believed in recent decades. Not only that, but it is at odds with what most contemporary curriculum reformers believe. If the Report's analysis is correct, then most of the money now being spent to improve the public schools is going down the drain.

The Report begins by describing some of the differences between schools attended by Negroes and whites. Schools attended by Negroes generally have inferior facilities and programs, but the differences are not very large. Indeed, Negroes are in some respects better off than the average white. In the South, for example, the average Negro attends school in a newer building than the average white, reflecting the fact that most Southern school boards built "modern" facilities for whites before World War II, while they did not build them for Negroes until more recently. In the urban North, on the other hand, Negro school buildings are older than white ones. Nationwide, the average Negro is more likely than the average white to have a library and a full-time librarian. He is slightly more likely than the average white to have new textbooks, slightly more likely to get them free, but less likely to have an adequate supply of them. The typical Negro is in a slightly larger class than the typical white. Overall, however, the striking fact about school facilities for Negroes and whites is how alike they are. The gap between Negro and white schools is significantly less than the gap between rural and urban schools or the gap between Southern and Northern schools.

When one turns from facilities to staff, much the same picture emerges. Teach-

ers of Negroes are on the whole inferior to the teachers of whites, but the differences are generally small and far from uniform. Teachers of Negroes score lower on tests of verbal ability, think worse of the colleges they attended, have lower morale, and are more eager to transfer to another school. (This desire is, however, apparently frustrated. Schools catering mainly to Negroes keep their teachers slightly longer than schools catering mainly to whites.) On the other hand, teachers of Negroes claim more activity in professional organizations, more reading of professional journals, and more time spent preparing for classes than teachers of whites. They are equally likely to have majored in an academic subject as against Education, equally likely to have a graduate degree, equally experienced as teachers, and equally badly paid (though there are significant regional variations in pay, with teachers of Negroes earning more than teachers of whites in some places and less in others).

One reason why Negroes have less sophisticated and verbally adroit teach-

AAAC~AAAC~AAAC~AAAC

Have you any idea what's happening on the other side of the Wall?

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ers is that very few school boards seem to assign teachers on a color-blind basis. In the South, of course, most Negro students still have Negro teachers and vice versa. But even in the urban North, Negro students have about one chance in three of getting a Negro teacher, whereas white students have less than one chance in fifty. As more Negroes enter colleges, earn degrees, and begin looking for middle-class jobs in the North, the number of Northern Negro students with white teachers may actually decline rather than increase. On the average, Negro teachers are drawn from around the middle of the Negro ability distribution, just as white teachers are drawn from the middle ranges of the white ability distribution. This has evidently been true for a long time, and continues to be true among the young men and women now entering the profession. The best Negro college students are not becoming school teachers, any more than the best whites are. Since Negroes as a group have developed their academic and verbal ability less than whites, this pattern of teacher recruitment ensures that the average Negro teacher will remain less competent than his white counterpart for some time.

In addition to facilities, programs, and staffs, the survey collected information on students themselves. Some of the findings are startling, at least to those

whose pictures of lower-class attitudes and behavior was formed by college sociology prior to 1960. For a long time students of the urban slum focussed their attention on immigrant sub-cultures, especially sub-cultures rooted in Southern and Eastern Europe. They found a great deal of overt hostility to American schooling, and they saw lower-class students' poor academic performance and high dropout rates as a by-product of this hostility. But times have changed. The USOE survey suggests that while the old stereotype may still apply to lower-class Puerto Rican youngsters, it does not apply to lower-class Negroes.

To begin with, the dropout rate among 16- and 17-year-olds, while higher among Negroes as a group than among whites, is not higher among many particular kinds of Negroes. In the rural South, for example, Negro men are more likely to be in school at 16 and 17 than white ones. Perhaps this reflects the fact that most of these rural Negroes want to move to a city, preferably in the North, and want a diploma to help them find work. The whites, on the other hand, usually plan to stay in the rural South, and do not need a diploma to take over the family farm or store. In the urban South, Negro girls stay in school slightly longer than whites, perhaps because they expect to go on working after marriage and

therefore care more about having a diploma. Similarly, in the nation as a whole among families whose head has less than eight years of education and earns less than \$3,000, Negro children are more likely than whites to stay in school. Presumably this reflects the fact that the Negro poor are more urbanized than the white poor.

Furthermore, while Negroes as a group are more likely than whites to drop out of school, and are less likely to go to college, they are no less *eager* to stay in school, and they express more *desire* to enter college. Negro students also report more interest in school, more time spent on homework, more books read outside school, and less truancy than whites. These startling results may project wishes rather than reality, or may even be deliberate attempts to con adult interrogators. Nevertheless, it is clear that Negro students are anxious to conform outwardly to their teachers' expectations, even if they don't really do so. The problem, in other words, is not lack of motivation but lack of performance.

Contrary to much recent research and speculation, Negro students showed no less academic self-confidence than the average white, at least in their questionnaire responses. They did not, however, show as much conviction that their personal behavior would affect what happened to them. Negroes were more likely than whites to feel that "people like me don't have a chance to be successful in life," more likely to feel that success depended on luck rather than hard work, more likely to report that "every time I try to get ahead, something or somebody stops me."

What does all this mean? How do these conditions affect what students actually learn? To answer this question students were tested for verbal and non-verbal ability, reading comprehension, mathematical achievement, and general information about the natural sciences, social studies, humanities, and "practical arts." The authors' first conclusion was that despite the rather small external differences between Negro and white schools, Negroes were learning substantially less than whites. About a sixth of the Negro first graders score above the national average on tests of verbal ability. The same is true of Negro high school seniors. The picture is not substantially different when one ex-

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amines non-verbal ability, reading, mathematics, or general information. Twelve years of schooling, in other words, does nothing to narrow the initial gap between Negroes and whites. In the South, schooling actually seems to widen the gap slightly. (Kenneth Clark's research suggests that the gap also widens in Harlem, but this is evidently not typical for Northern cities.) This same pattern evidently continues in college, though here the Report's sampling was very limited. (In interpreting this finding, the reader should remember that if Negro scores average 75 percent of white ones in fourth grade, the typical Negro will be one grade behind. If Negro scores still average 75 percent of white ones in twelfth grade, the typical Negro will be three grades behind.)

The authors' second conclusion was

that of all the tests they administered, the best measure of school effectiveness was the verbal ability test. This test was at one time thought to reveal a pupil's innate biological potential, and is still commonly used to measure IQ. Today it is generally recognized that no paper and pencil test reveals very much about an individual's genetic endowment. But this realization has not reduced the importance of verbal ability. Ours is, after all, a middle-class country, and the primary mission of the schools, accepted by both the middle and lower classes, is to prepare the young for middle-class jobs. Of all the things taught in school, verbal facility is probably the most important in finding such a job and getting promoted. Furthermore, even if one rejects occupational success as a primary goal of education, and insists that the schools exist to develop the in-

tellekt, verbal facility remains critical. Verbal ability is vital to almost any sort of intellectual attainment (and is in any case highly correlated with non-verbal ability). Colleges, for example, have found that of all the tests they use to predict college performance, verbal ability is the most reliable — much more so than subject-matter tests.

Verbal fluency is not only the most important skill developed in school, it is also apparently the skill with which schools have the most varied success. This means that scores on verbal ability tests make an excellent index of a school's overall effectiveness, separating good from bad schools more effectively than reading, mathematics or general information scores. This is presumably because most schools, good or bad, teach reading, math, and other subjects in much the same way, with somewhat



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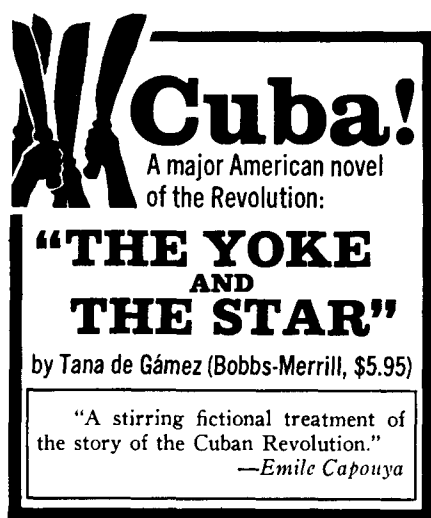
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similar results. They do not usually teach verbal skills directly, and so their influence is more varied.

The authors then set out to isolate the characteristics of both individuals and their schools which influenced verbal scores. This is by no means easy. We know that verbal ability usually develops in small increments over long periods of time. Verbal scores are therefore influenced not just by the school a student is attending when he takes a test, but all the other schools he has ever attended. It is extremely difficult to get accurate retrospective information about these schools. Since the authors could not spend twelve years following various sorts of students through school, observing all the salient features of each institution, they had to assume that a student who was in a particular kind of school at the time of the survey had probably spent most of his academic life in similar schools. While there is a good deal of empirical evidence to support this general assumption, there are plenty of exceptions. Each exception reduces the relationship between a student's current attainment and the characteristics of his current school.

Given their method, it is perhaps not surprising that the authors found a fairly modest relationship between students' test scores and the characteristics of the schools students attended. Family background, for example, seems to exert more independent influence on verbal ability than the schools do. So do individual attitudes, especially the feeling of being able to control one's destiny. Such attitudes may, of course, be somewhat influenced by the characteris-

tics of a school, but the Report does not turn up much interrelationship. Overall, the Report makes a convincing though not definitive case for the view that student achievement depends largely on forces over which today's schools exercise little control. Whether they could exercise more influence if they were organized and run differently remains an open question.

To the extent that schools do influence what a student learns, their facilities and programs are evidently the least important factors in the equation. If the quality of teachers and students is held constant, a luxurious physical plant contributes nothing to the development of verbal skills, and an inadequate plant does nothing to inhibit them. Nor does it matter whether the textbooks are old or new, whether there is a library or a librarian, whether the classes are large or small, or whether the school groups children in separate tracks or not.

Good teachers seem to contribute somewhat more than bad ones to their students' verbal ability, but it is hard to tell how much. Partly this is because able teachers are usually found in the same schools with able students, so that it is hard to separate the influence of teachers from that of classmates. Partly it is because the statistical analysis in the report is poorly explained and seems at times contradictory. *One thing is clear, however, namely that good teachers are much more important to Negroes than to whites.*

However much difference teachers may make, the student culture evidently makes more. *Again, the difference is far greater for Negroes than whites.* Negroes do much better if they have middle-class schoolmates, while whites do little worse when they have lower-class ones. Those of our forefathers who pushed for the common primary school, and later for the comprehensive high school, were evidently on the right track. Such a melting pot seems to help the disadvantaged without appreciably hurting the advantaged. (In the light of this finding, it is hard to see why internal segregation, in the form of ability grouping and tracking, should not promote student achievement, but the report found that it did not.)

The finding that able teachers and able classmates matter more for Negroes than for whites raises a basic question.

It is hard to believe that this is really a racial difference, and tempting to assume that it is an economic one. Unfortunately, the Report provides no separate tabulations for middle-class Negroes or for lower-class whites, so the question cannot be answered directly. Indirect evidence does, however, suggest that it is the poor in general, rather than Negroes in particular, who respond strongly to good and bad schools. The Report finds, for example, that Negroes respond to good teachers, regardless of race. They do not respond to white teachers per se. Similarly, the Report finds that Negro students do better in predominantly middle-class schools and worse in predominantly lower-class schools, but that racial integration has little or no independent effect. Integrating poor Negroes with poor whites, in other words, probably does no good. Integrating poor Negroes with middle-class Negroes might do as much good as integrating them with middle-class whites, but as a practical matter there aren't enough middle-class Negroes to go round. (One reason for this is that 40 percent of all white-collar Negroes send their children to private schools — an incredible finding which deserves study.) For the foreseeable future class integration will be impossible without racial integration as well.

The best working hypothesis for explaining these findings is probably that virtually all American children, regardless of race, know they will need verbal skills to get ahead, and acquire them if given half a chance. If they come from good homes they pick these skills up from their parents and neighboring children, and even a good school adds relatively little. If they come from poor homes, however, they cannot acquire verbal skills from their parents or on the streets. In that case school, and more especially schoolmates, are crucially important.

Yet before discounting race entirely, we must take account of a finding which the Report notes but does not stress. A Negro child's achievement is very highly correlated with his feeling that he can control his own destiny (but not with his academic self-confidence, perhaps because the questions asked in this survey did not really measure self-doubt and self-hatred very well.) Negroes are somewhat more likely to feel

they can control their fate if they attend racially integrated schools. While the *average* Negro test score is about the same in a segregated as in an integrated school (once class differences are taken into account), averages can be misleading. The integrated schools are not in fact the same as the segregated schools: they are either considerably better or considerably worse. The Report did not investigate what made the difference between a good and a bad integrated school. One can, however, guess that the good schools were those in which Negroes felt more or less accepted, and therefore felt that they had a chance of making it in white America. The poor ones, on the other hand, were probably those in which Negroes felt beleaguered and excluded, and were worse off than they would have been in an all-Negro school. *If this hypothesis is correct, a really superior school for Negroes must indeed be racially integrated, even though the risks of integration are indeed considerable.*

Taking the Report as a whole, three tentative conclusions seem warranted:

First, America's present school system is doing nothing to narrow the gap between Negroes and whites. If the gap is narrowing at all (and that is certainly debatable), the credit must go to forces outside the school system.

Second, pouring more money into Negro schools will probably accomplish little or nothing. While the Report does not prove that as yet untried improvements in school facilities and programs (e.g., computers) would have no significant effect on learning, it does provide a good deal of indirect evidence that this kind of innovation has made very little difference in the past.

Third, closing the gap between whites and Negroes would require radical changes in the present system of matching teachers with students, and students with one another. Barring truly open housing, mixing classes as well as races, equality of opportunity would require abandoning the neighborhood school. Not only that, it would require mixing students from the inner city with those from the suburbs, perhaps in educational parks. But neither parents nor educators will believe the Report's finding that white, middle-class children do as well in heavily integrated schools as elsewhere. The necessary changes will



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therefore be strongly opposed by both suburban and small-town educators, and by white parents. They will only be possible if the federal government ignores those people's protests and intervenes directly in an area traditionally reserved

to local government. Such intervention is unlikely. But that is only another way of saying that white America is not ready to do what would have to be done to integrate Negroes into the mainstream of society.

Jeopardy and Alibi

by Charles Deemer

Konrad Lorenz is the father of ethology, and ethology supports what is now called the "new biology." What ethology is about is innate animal behavior, patterns of responses not learned but inherited, what my layman's mind generally thinks of as instincts. As a science ethology is hardly three decades old. Against the usual opposition given to any new, fruitful discipline of in-

On Aggression

by Konrad Lorenz

translated by Marjorie Kerr Wilson
(Harcourt, Brace & World; \$5.75)

The Territorial Imperative

by Robert Ardrey

(Atheneum; \$6.95)

quiry, ethology proceeds resourcefully ahead to the conclusion that many patterns of behavior, in planarian worms as well as in our beloved selves, are innate and universal. Were this not enough of a jolt to the old school of thought that freed man, with his ostensibly unique moral nature, from the clutches of evolutionary control, the "new biology" takes ethology's findings in their broadest context: not only is

man a product of animal evolution, but he is still evolving today; his *ethos*, so selfishly cherished, probably is rooted in the nature of all animal life. The "new biology" unequivocally returns man to the animal kingdom. Let me place him there myself for the moment and, turning to a recent book by the pioneer of ethology and another by the "new biology's" most lucid and dramatic salesman, suggest why we must keep him there.

Coincident with the moot pursuit of the Vietnamese war, the appearance of Konrad Lorenz's *On Aggression* and Robert Ardrey's *The Territorial Imperative* offers a rare opportunity for the human species *Americanus* to take a candid look at itself, an opportunity to discern which, if any, of its recent actions have been other than the conditioned or instinctive responses of a laboratory rat, and may even have been characteristically human. For Lorenz's subject is intra-specific aggression ("the fighting instinct in beast and man which is directed against members of the same species"), Ardrey's the territorial compulsion ("an inherent drive to gain and defend an exclusive property"). In what Tom Lehrer has called "these days of universal brouhaha," perhaps few topics are more pertinent. "The danger to modern man," writes Lorenz, "arises not so much from his power of mastering natural phenomena as from his powerlessness to control sensibly what is happening today in his own society. I maintain that this powerlessness is entirely the consequence of the lack of human insight into the causation of human behavior." The extent to which inborn traits guide our behavior concerns both Lorenz and Ardrey, and it should concern the reader. Though each author admits the limitations of investigating behavior through a single lens, their conclusions, considered together,

offer an interpretation of the human dilemma that, even if only partly correct, shines new light on the darkness between the present and Judgment Day.

Before turning to man, Lorenz and Ardrey examine the behavior of animals more susceptible to empirical analysis. Lorenz, beginning with studies of coral fish, soon destroys the myth that aggression is primarily a life-destroying instinct. By balancing the distribution of a species over the available environment, by selecting the strongest representatives to face the environment, and by defending the young, innate aggression performs significant life-preserving functions. The ritualization of aggressive behavior also can serve to preserve life: original damaging methods of conflict evolve into ritualized patterns less harmful to the loser, though still fulfilling nature's function of selecting the stronger. For example, in a rival fight between two members of the cichlid species *Cichlasoma biocellatum* ("Jack Dempseys"), the "fittest" specimen is the one with the greatest endurance, for neither combatant will take advantage of his opponent. Since aggression serves to preserve life, its selective value is favorable, evolution retains it, and man, helpless to do otherwise, is left to cope with it.

Ardrey, citing Helmut Buechner's conclusions of the behavior of Uganda kobs, suggests counterparts in human behavior: "that male kobs compete for territories, never for females," and that "on a kob stamping ground the territorial proprietor almost always wins" against fellow members of his species. Let me add that Ardrey reviews studies of the beaver, the platy fish, the cricket and even so low a form of life as the planarian worm to emphasize that the important role of territory in influencing behavior is not peculiar to a golden brown African antelope. And Ardrey asks, "Are we to believe that a biological force commanded by a sense of possession, which plays such a measurable role in the affairs of animals, plays no part in the measurable discrepancies of man?" To this question add Lorenz's contention that evolution includes errors, such as the group hate of rival rat clans and the absurdly exaggerated wings of the Argus pheasant, wings working against the interests of the species but selected because they excite

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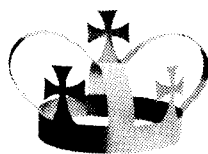
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the Argus hen (hence making the number of progeny produced by a cock dependent on the length of his feathers!); that similar errors, evolutionary blind alleys serving no purpose, are the working pace and the ambition of western man. We approach a crossroad at which we either educate ourselves, allies and enemies alike, in the nature of human behavior, using this knowledge to promote future behavior, or we continue along a road leading to extinction of our species. And this, in the evolutionary view, will be about as significant as the extinction of the ichthyosaur.

Do not underestimate the implications of the "new biology." Lorenz convincingly supposes that "an unprejudiced observer from another planet, looking upon man as he is today, in his hand the atom bomb, the product of his intelligence, in his heart the aggressive drive inherited from his anthropoid ancestors, which this same intelligence cannot control, would not prophesy long life for the species." Ardrey, boldly going a step beyond Lorenz, argues that the compulsion for territory is more than an instinctive drive: it is the mechanism of a *natural morality*, operative in all animals, that mediates between the well-being of the individual and the well-being of the group. If this appears to be an extraordinary claim, consider two of Ardrey's own examples from human history and two others more recent than his book.

We need go no further into history

than Pearl Harbor to recall the instant, voluntary, unanimous and self-sacrificing response humans give to an invasion of their homeland. But also recall that the adults of 1941 were the children of the 1920's, an era in which so many of us believed that war was futile. This was our conditioning, and yet we responded to Pearl Harbor without hesitation, casting away long-held beliefs and habits at a moment's notice, responding instinctively. So man defends his territory, favoring the group at the sacrifice of the individual.

With the Eichmann trial after the war we again witness the importance of territory in dictating human behavior. What was more bewildering than the reported passivity of Germany's Jews? To a new generation of young Israelis the lethargic behavior was incomprehensible. Ardrey believes that there was, in fact, a biological dichotomy between the German Jew and the Israeli: unlike the Israeli, the "Jew of the gas chamber" was *not* a territorial animal. Lacking the instinct to defend a territory he never had, the Jew could only react passively, explaining his passivity to the children of a new land by saying, "but there was nothing to do." And instinctively there wasn't.

Both foreign and domestic events today give credibility to Ardrey's hypothesis of the "territorial imperative." Our failure in Vietnam to estimate realistically the strength and will of the "enemy" is now admitted. Ardrey's book should be required reading in the

State Department: "The principal cause of modern warfare arises from the failure of an intruding power correctly to estimate the defensive resources of a territorial defender." Like the Uganda kob, the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong seem to have instinctive energies not available to ourselves, the territorial intruder.

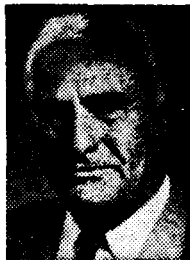
As a last example, consider this summer's marches for fair housing in Chicago. Are not the vicious responses of whites the predictable reply, given Ardrey's thesis? Indeed, could the marches themselves be fruitful since they ignore and aggravate the irrational animal compulsion for territory? Are we everywhere on a path of falsehood, "accomplishing with remarkable consistency the precise opposite of our best intention?" Are we acting to de-territorialize man, when we should be "restoring his dignity and responsibility as a proprietor?"

Lorenz is optimistic about our chances of survival, despite the fact that so much of our present jeopardy results from a failure to evolve physiological mechanisms inhibiting the quick kill, a failure explained by the upsetting by artificial weapons of man's equilibrium between killing potential and social inhibition. Lorenz lists two factors to support his optimism: one is not surprising from a scientist; the other, though unoriginal, is seldom suggested and dubiously supported.

"The first prerequisite for rational control of an instinctive behavior pattern," he writes, "is the knowledge of the stimulus situation which releases it." Although we may have the proper climate for the pursuit of knowledge, I am not at all confident that we have the climate in which knowledge can be used. Truths about human behavior are the last to be accepted, as Lorenz readily admits; yet he reiterates his faith that the truth, even about ourselves, will ultimately prevail, "provided the human species does not commit suicide in the near future, as well it may." I find Lorenz's qualification, however grammatically relegated, suspiciously—and terrifyingly—more pertinent than ten pages on truth's inevitable victory.

Lorenz's second hope for mankind is a sense of humor. He writes, "I believe that a really subtle and acute perception of the humorous aspects of ourselves is

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A Call to Radicalism

WHERE SHALL LIBERALS GO?

In the current issue of *Dissent* there appears a 70 page essay by Arnold Kaufman which should be of special interest to all American liberals.

Professor Kaufman, who teaches philosophy at the University of Michigan, analyzes the present situation of U.S. liberalism, its strengths and weaknesses. He discusses the Politics of Pseudo-Realism, which

dominate the thought of establishment liberals, and the Politics of Self-Indulgence, which dominate the thought of sections of the student movement. He goes beyond current controversies and problems, into the basic dilemmas of liberalism.

This essay is a thoughtful and provocative piece of work. We urge all *New Republic* readers to get a copy.

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the strongest inducement in the world to make us honest with ourselves, thus fulfilling one of the first postulates of reasoning morality." But the problem, which Lorenz ignores, is how to insure that we shall all find the same things humorous, a necessity if we are to eliminate hostility arising from a misunderstood jest. I may believe that Our Man in Power is a clownish fool, but I doubt seriously whether I or anyone could point out his absurd inconsistencies to his own satisfaction. Lorenz no doubt expects knowledge to universalize our many senses of humor, but this hope still leaves me with his alarming qualification.

Ardrey is more reserved: "My optimism concerning the capacities of fellow members of my species to come at last to grips with themselves survives, at times, out of processes which must be physiological; it receives small intellectual nourishment." One intellectual encouragement, however, is the conclusion of a study of chacma baboons by Hall, Washburn, and DeVore. As an aggressive primate, the baboon is second only to man, and yet this animal, preferring avoidance to combat, had never been observed to have a territorial conflict, a behavior thought innate. But on a single and momentous occasion K. R. L. Hall observed what he considered to be territorial behavior. The optimistic conclusion is that the baboons' preference for peace is not innate but was learned through long experience. And what the baboon has learned, perhaps man will too.

Man, it seems to me, is a jeopardized creature *by nature*. Long ago his evolved ability to speak and think conceptually robbed him of a security provided by well-adapted instincts. The evidence of the "new biology," which I find convincing, reveals that we are nonetheless animals first and men second, sitting precariously on a proud pinnacle atop the animal kingdom. Our

popular alibi, that we are men first, really means that evolution has everything to do with animals and little to do with us; when things go wrong, there must be a bad guy on whom to place the blame. Yet I believe that if we are to survive, we must admit that we are animals, and for the best of reasons: the evidence says that it is so. A thing so petty as the selection of

Ardrey's book by the Book-of-the-Month Club encourages me because a wide circulation of the book is assured. Our salvation, if it is anywhere, must be in the humane use of those same peculiar abilities that robbed us of a protohuman security. Perhaps, as Lorenz asserts, the long sought "missing link" is ourselves, the potential ancestor of a humane species.

Unflappable Supermac

by Alex Campbell

In April 1920 young Harold Macmillan, of the publishing firm that gave the world the works of Thomas Hardy, Rudyard Kipling and Hugh Walpole, married Dorothy Cavendish, daughter of the Duke of Devonshire, and lived happily ever after. This would be about all there was to say, but for what he himself calls "a series of wholly unexpected accidents," which in 1957 made

Winds of Change
by Harold Macmillan
(Harper & Row; \$10)

him British prime minister and launched him on his Batman-like flight as Unflappable Supermac. The first volume of his memoirs, however, takes the story only as far as 1939, the outbreak of the British war with Hitler, so we'll have to wait a while for the political white meat, which apparently is going to include an attack on John Foster Dulles for being devious at the Suez crisis of 1956, and high praise of John F. Kennedy for agreeing with Macmillan that "the Russians would not force the issue in Cuba" in 1962 (which may help explain why Mac didn't flap).

In his first volume, Mr. Macmillan is smooth as Devonshire cream. He tells so few inside stories about politicians that instead of these being his own recollections, he might just as well be relaying Hansard. One gathers that nobody, but nobody, liked Lloyd George, who was the British Churchill of the First World War but later blotted his copybook by selling off titles of nobility to the highest bidders. (Lloyd George also had an annoying habit of stealing other men's mistresses, but Mr. Mac-

millan doesn't breathe a word about sexual indiscretions.) Stanley Baldwin, another British prime minister, the one who presided over the abdication of Edward VIII, to Churchill's fury, was not as aloof as some people have contended, Macmillan says. "He often came into the [Commons] smoking-room. It is true that he seldom spoke to anyone, but he would give one a friendly nod and we had a sense that he cared about us, like the father of a young and growing family."

I've quoted the bit about Baldwin because, though apparently trite, it's a significant clue to what's of genuine interest and value in these memoirs. This has little to do with politics, at any rate in this first volume. What the former premier has done, however, is to portray with extraordinary fidelity the way of life of the British upper classes as their doom approached. The storm of the First World War shook the old oak badly. (If it hadn't, a brilliant boulder like Lloyd George wouldn't have been able to grab power.) After the war, in the uneasy twenties, the old titled families, and the professional diplomats and

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politicians closely associated with them, made a brief comeback but were rocked by coal strikes and a general strike at home, and upstarts like Mussolini and Hitler abroad. Finally, they were overthrown and for all practical purposes vanished in the tornado of the Second World War.

Mr. Macmillan loathed both Hitler and stupid mine owners. But despite the book's title, he is, or seems to be, considerably less concerned with the up-thrusts of new social and political forces than with the Establishment that was about to pass from the scene. When he became prime minister in 1957, many people found him, even as late as that, curiously Edwardian (Seventh, not even Eighth) in his mannerisms and thinking. His memoirs also suggest this. It is with a loving brush that he paints a portrait of a ruling class that, even at the time when it was all unconsciously posing for him, was rapidly becoming anachronistic. What we have here, therefore, are the lusciously overripe fruits of a British politician's *A la Recherche du temps perdu*.

Americans have long been appalled by the British upper-class notion of education, of depositing children in boarding schools at an extremely tender age and leaving them there, except for vacations, until it was time to go to Oxford or Cambridge (after which they were frequently dispatched to Kenya, or to the Khyber Pass). Macmillan's comment on the practice is as follows: "Broadly speaking, all upper- and middle-class boys were sent away for their education. Certain great families, by tradition, opted out of this opportunity — the [Bertrand] Russells, perhaps, being the most notable. Whether the result was good or bad, I would not care to judge. In general, however, all of what I suppose would now be called 'the Establishment' went to public schools. I have never thought this was really a dangerous class distinction. . . . A boy who has left home at the age of eight or nine, and from that age onwards until he leaves university is not at home for more than a few weeks at Christmas, Easter, and the summer, is forced into a certain independence of spirit. He is thrown into the stream . . . to sink or swim. Some undoubtedly sink, either disappearing altogether, or destined to turn up from time to time either in the police courts or as mem-

bers of extreme and subversive movements."

Longevity and long service seem to have characterized both the upper class and their domestics. "In the life of a normal family of the upper and upper middle classes the center of the household was undoubtedly 'Nanny'. Our Nanny, Mrs. Last, had come soon after my eldest brother was born. When I married more than thirty years later she was housekeeper to my mother." Mr. Macmillan observes parenthetically that his own children's Nanny, "though retired, still lives with us in a cottage at the end of the garden." His mother, he adds, had the same head gardener from 1906 till 1935, when he died and was replaced by the second gardener.

Ancestral homes were large and very well staffed ("five or six men would cost scarcely more than one today") but lacked conveniences. When the Duke of Devonshire, Macmillan's father-in-law, inherited Chatsworth, a great house, in 1909, "there was only one bathroom in that vast palace. . . . You stood in the

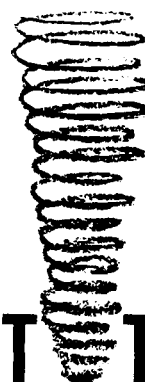
passage, and waited your turn." Chatsworth, however, had, and presumably still has, this advantage, that at times of high family festival, like Christmas, it could accommodate vast numbers of children and grandchildren, as well as their parents, grandparents, and attendant nurses and nursery-maids, lady's maids and valets, aunts and cousins.

Despite the infrequency of bathrooms, a good time was evidently had by all. Looking back at what he calls "life in the twenties," the former prime minister has the fondest memories of Chatsworth — where apparently high revels are still to be obtained on appropriate feast days and holidays. "No house," he recalls tenderly, "is better fitted for roller-skating. The whole course is good, with particularly fast going on the stone floor of the Statue Gallery and the Orangery." But, for John Foster Dulles, John F. Kennedy and the Cuba missiles crisis, and all that latter-day jazz, readers will have to possess their souls in patience, and wait for the next volume or two of Supermac's memoirs.



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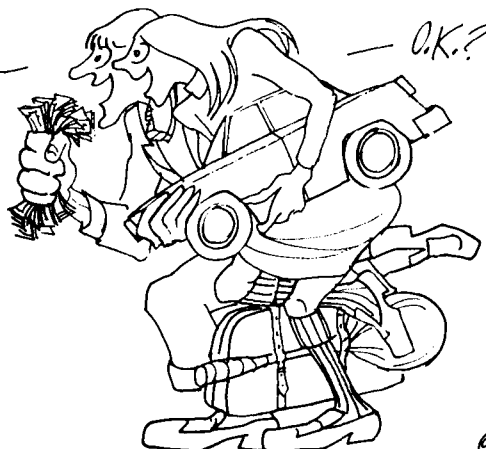


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DADDY!



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TAKING THE
CAR AND
ALL YOUR
MONEY!



O.K.?

WHEN DOES IT GET
TO BE MY TURN?



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10-2

The Adams Uncles

by Francis Biddle

This is an amusing little book, trivial in spots, often girlish, vigorously New England, on occasion shrewd. Of the three uncles of the author, Abigail Adams, named after her great-grandmother, two are dealt with here, Henry and Brooks. Abigail's mother is dim, remembered chiefly for her trite little aphorisms: "One is only young once" — "My dear, it is all a part of your educa-

Education by Uncles
by Abigail Adams Homans
(Houghton Mifflin; \$4)

tion." Abigail loved and was proud of her father, John Quincy, an Adams, though a Democrat. He liked the role of the minority, ran for governor of Massachusetts five times between 1867 and 1871 — "If it had been a winning cause he would not have touched it." He was indolent, torn between the longing for a quiet life, and a strong pull of public education. He hung up his lawyer's shingle in 1858, and the *Quincy Patriot* carried the notice: "John Quincy Adams may be found in his office on Mondays and Tuesdays."

President Cleveland wished to appoint him Secretary of the Navy in 1884, but he refused, because he wanted to be left alone. Of her father Abigail said that he never preached, seldom advised, "but silently set before me to take or leave as I saw fit the highest standards of decent behavior."

Abigail's favorite uncle, Henry Adams, suggested to her the White Rabbit in *Alice in Wonderland*, with his small hands and little kid gloves. He could be found at his desk in the Sixteenth Street house in Washington drinking coffee

and making notes in his exquisite script. He was a recluse, never dining out, but enjoying the stream of visitors who came to lunch or dinner with him, and even in the morning. He loved gossip, particularly about the younger and more flamboyant hostesses. The painting in his study that Abigail particularly remembered was an oil by William Blake of Nebuchadnezzar on all fours eating grass.

Henry Adams, when a youth, once wrote his brother Charles Francis about Brooks Adams, the youngest: "I think myself that we ought to try our hardest to tolerate the child, who is really a first rate little fellow, apart from his questions, and we ought not to snub him so much." By instinct and nature Brooks was a savage man. His outlook was medieval, and he believed in the subjugation of women. He was placed in an English boarding school by his father, the Minister to England, where his life was made miserable. Feeling in the upper classes ran strongly against the North, and Brooks was jeered at as a "rebel and traitor." His inability to get on followed him through life. He would say, plaintively — "As soon as I join a group of people they all melt away and disappear. . . . They won't even listen to what I say."

After his mother's death he decided that he should marry. His friend, Mrs. Henry Cabot Lodge, suggested that her sister, Evelyn Davis, was just the right girl for him. Brooks approved, took her buggy-riding, and they were soon married, to everyone's amazement. She was known to her friends as "Daisy"; but Brooks said that he would not have her treated like a cow, and "Evelyn" was substituted. Gentle and charming herself she must, nevertheless, have had a taste for violence.

Brooks would have liked to be closer to Henry, but they were so different that a close relation was probably impossible. Brooks was serious and liked serious talk, and particularly argument. He was an active man, not bathed in playfulness and humor like Henry, who hated argument and believed that serious things must be discussed lightly, and light things seriously. He admired

his stormy younger brother, but could not see too much of him. Each brother had periods of depression, caused, their niece believed, by profound boredom, and at times Brooks positively wallowed in gloom.

The year before Abigail came out, she joined her Uncle Brooks and Aunt Evelyn in Paris and was promptly tucked into a convent where the Reverend Mother, a formidable but practical woman, questioned Brooks in detail about his financial and social status, and was then convinced that the young woman was *sérieuse*. Brooks ended the interview by saying that he did not wish his niece influenced by Catholic propaganda; and the Reverend Mother replied — with dignity — "You say that she is a lady, so she will undoubtedly conform to our *régime* without scandal."

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

John Wain's book, *Death of the Hind Legs* and other stories, will be published in October by Viking. Gerald Jonas is on the staff of *The New Yorker*. Charles Deemer is a graduate assistant at the University of Oregon. Francis Biddle, former Attorney General of the United States, is the author of *A Casual Past* and *In Brief Authority*.

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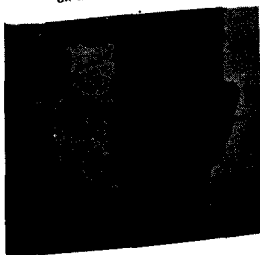
"Where, precisely, do you think our society has gone wrong?"

- This was the question the editors of *The New Republic* asked a group of young thinkers of "the New Left." Their replies, first published in *The New Republic*, are now available in inexpensive paperback form.
- Included in this volume, too, are four comments on their views of America by Dr. Robert Coles, Michael Harrington, Paul Seabury and Ronald Hamowy.
- The introduction is by Andrew Kopkind, Associate Editor of *The New Republic*, who has followed the activities of the young radicals over the past few years.

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And respond she did to the kindness of the nuns to "an ingrowing New Englander"; to the lovely ritual of the Catholic Church; to the spirit of renunciation, and, particularly, to the observance of the conventions. Perhaps her uncle had a shrewd sense that what his niece needed and did not get at home, was the relaxation that came when choice was removed, and decisions had no longer to be forced.

Abigail Adams became engaged to Robert Homans, "a lawyer by trade" (he would have shuddered to hear such a reference to his profession), who had been secretary to Mr. Justice Gray, now on the Supreme Court. She took him to Washington to call on Uncle Henry. As they left: "Well, infants, when you are fed up with your honeymoon come and see me in Paris." There they lunched or dined with him almost every day at the most fashionable restaurants. Bob felt he should pay the bill sometimes. "Oh," laughed Uncle Henry, "don't bother your head about that, my dear fellow. You are only eating on my heirs. . . ." Of all their jaunts the best was at Chartres, guided by Uncle Henry. They sat under the stained glass windows while he explained the stories, then watched the afternoon light set the Tree of Jesse ablaze—a revelation to these two "hidebound New Englanders." When it came to the disposition of the Adams papers it was decided to shut them up in the Massachusetts Historical Society for fifty years. The truth is that the brothers were a little afraid of the papers.

Correspondence

A Time To Be Black

Sirs:

TRB (September 17) considered all but one of the alternative solutions to the problems of growing segregation in Northern urban areas. To many of us, that alternative is the most important, the most pressing, the most feasible.

Stokely Carmichael, during an August visit to Boston, put it this way at a public rally: "We're going to turn our ghettos into communities of love for each other."

There are many young black people,

like myself and my wife, who have no desire to move to the sterile suburbs, or even the unsterile suburbs. We are comfortable with our own people, working and living among our own. What we need is large sums of untethered money to conduct the programs we know are necessary for the salvation of our communities; and the freedom from harassment by white political overseers, in order to do the things we know must be done. What we want is control of our communities: their economics, their educational structures, their politics, their public services, in order to make these elements work for us instead of against us as they have in the past.

I, frankly, am not the least interested in seeing the ghettos smashed and destroyed. I am interested in seeing them built into strong, creative, productive communities operating with a maximum of self-sufficiency. I am also interested in seeing some of the positive values I find in my community spread to some of my culturally-deprived white friends in the suburbs.

The housing section of the proposed civil rights bill that has just been shelved by the Senate was important to me only to the extent that it may be important to the moral health of the country and to the enhancement of freedom of movement for those prosperous blacks who can afford to move into these suburban areas.

We young Negroes who are working with our people in our communities are becoming more and more distressed to see large sums of money pouring into the hands of white Establishment people for high salaries and superficial, ineffective programs. If given the choice, we would prefer to see the Congress spend its time and effort providing funds to be sent direct and unrestricted into Negro communities for use by the growing young Negro leadership whose roots are in these communities and whose loyalty to its residents is paramount.

Bryant Rollins
Roxbury, Mass.

I enjoyed reading Bruce Detwiler's article "A Time To Be Black" (September 17). I keep wondering when someone is going to use the image of a parent unhappily watching his son grow up in describing the white liberals' (and America's) dilemma. It is as if a son were telling his parents that he is an

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individual and that he wants to have his say for his future, good or bad. Negroes are different looking, different culturally, and just different from whites – a fact most whites try to overlook. Sure they are human, but their life gives most of them a different focus, which is just to say, thank God we're not all WASPS, and that we might have something to say about our lives. Sorry Mr. Detwiler is not a Negro. Even though he said it well, I'm sorry, as usual, that I have to read what a white says about "us."

R. Reed
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Detwiler expresses great doubt as to the value of integration to the Negro at the present time. He equates integration with absorption. I believe most Negro leaders think of integration as a process guaranteeing equal rights, equal justice and equal opportunities to all citizens regardless of race. It would be a tragic mistake for the Negro people to turn their backs on this goal after more than fifty years of struggle.

Mr. Detwiler writes of Stokely Carmichael's plan to organize the poor whites, create an alliance with the Negroes and, thereby, come to political

power in the South. This type of alliance existed briefly during the early Reconstruction Period, but failed. Lillian Smith in her great book, *Killers of the Dream*, explains how the rich planter gained the support of the poor white by appealing to his racial pride. The recent events throughout the United States point up the fact that the greatest enemies of the Negro are the lower and lower-middle-class whites.

Irving Schwartzbach
Matawan, N.J.

War for Profit

Sirs:

Despite our allegations of communist aggression, the current war, as are most modern (civilized!) wars, is being fought for just one reason, profits. These profits derive from three main sources: profits from the development and exploitation of natural resources in the disputed area, profits from marketing one's production in that area, and profits from the production and supply of war materials and support facilities needed to pursue and carry out wars for the protection and guarantee of the above. It is hardly a sinister plot, or a conscious effort on the part of businessmen or others that promotes and develops such wars, but rather it is the cumulative effect of each championing his own cause aided and abetted by professional propagandists and hate peddlers (in this case professional anti-communists). Each one supports and compliments the other.

Reynolds Moody
Lt. Col. USMC (Ret.)

Campbell on Keynes

Sirs:

I have long enjoyed the creative and perceptive book reviewing of Alex Campbell, but his recent examination of "The Age of Keynes" (September 10) was especially valuable for its challenge of the growing acceptance of Keynes' supposed economic "neutrality." Incidentally, all the present rush of news about the US buildup in Thailand, recalls that Campbell disclosed this over six months ago in one of your March issues.

Clayton Fritchey
Washington, D.C.

Organizing Poor Whites

Sirs:

SNCC's proposal to organize poor whites is a measure of the unreality of its outlook. The poor Negro and the poor white typify the two blocs in our society least likely to get together, because both are too much ashamed of their common poverty to be able to build constructive cooperation on it. . . . Coalition activity among disadvantaged groups is a snare and a delusion. . . . For several years coalition has been attempted in Texas. In 1963, Texas Negroes responded in considerable numbers to a well-managed, but unsuccessful, block-worker program to abolish the poll-tax requirement for voting.

This Labor Day, striking Latin American melon pickers produced an impressive march to the state capital with the help of liberals and organized labor. It is easier for organized labor to do things for Negroes and Latins – direct a campaign, finance a march – than to do things with them – require the real desegregation of still segregated apprentice programs and promote real acceptance of integration in areas where labor is politically dominant.

Coalition . . . does not win elections. Its high visibility stimulates ultraconservative activists, but the enthusiasm of demonstrations is not converted into voting strength. Coalition intensifies factional wrangling within a segment of the electorate too limited in size and experience to reach for any real power. It has given committed communists their first real opportunity in twenty years to promote cynicism and mutual suspicion among people whose deepest need is to know each other better. We all need the restraint, grace and wisdom implicit in the approach of the SCLC, which sustains racial pride with courage for integrating activity. . . .

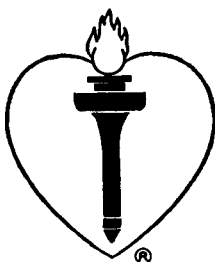
To prepare new segregated positions of relative psychological comfort is to invite retreat. No one who has ever been involved in integrated activity supposes that it can be anything but strenuous.

But "mixin' larns you," as misdirected pride cannot. The psychological ghetto is a grimmer prison than the geographical ghetto.

Margaret Carter
Fort Worth, Texas

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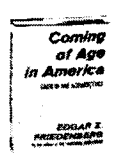




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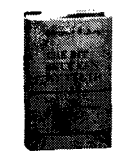
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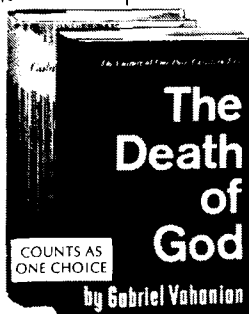
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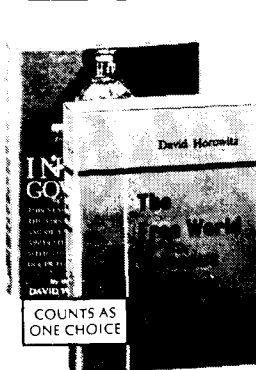
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Kauffmann, *from page 18*

stances of equilibrium, Brooks is simply stating what he thinks (which I am sure is the case) and that an opinion one way or the other would be, for him, a distortion. It can also be argued that he is functioning in this book as a chronicler, not as a polemicist. But the aggregate of these balanced judgments is a sensation of lack. Reading history in which we are involved is different from reading more remote history. The reader has strong opinions on at least some of the subjects, and he tends to feel that the author is remiss in not sharing or opposing them. I suppose that, if carried too far, this turns into an argument for tendentious history. (Or *consciously* tendentious history, I should say.) But the other extreme, in books dealing with the largest issues of our lives, seems a bit bloodless and safe. At the least, if the author's best judgment is a balanced one, the reader ought to feel that both sides of the equation have been profoundly explored. When the reader cannot feel that and when there is no sense of overview, no sense of the author's urgent convictions and philosophical outlook, the book seems to course along the surface.

Which is the case here. But *The Great Leap* courses interestingly. With a kind of shrewd blandness, a sophisticated impartiality, Brooks takes us vividly and racily through the past 25 years to its typical human result: the science-blessed, culture-ambitious, affluence-oriented, suburb-dwelling, stock-holding, world-viewing, doctor-dominated, prudery-resistant, corporation-cossetted, barbecue-grilling American. He did not exist in anything like the strength of all those colors in 1939. And now that he does exist, what?

Not to recognize the miracles of change in our lifetimes is sophomoric cynicism. Not to recognize that the US, despite all its ills, is the best country in the world in which to live is, I think, inverse provincialism. Material advantage is not the sole test. In its combination of general freedoms, available opportunities, protection of the individual – and in philanthropic impulse – this country leads the world.

Yet it is also a country with a crypto-government of crime syndicates (not treated by Brooks); a country engaged

in a war that compounds monthly the interest of past mistakes and adds them to the principal; a country that has to be forced grudgingly, inch by inch, to preserve its natural beauties, improve its schools, raze its slums. The youth are often alienated either intellectually or quasi-criminally or criminally. The lately spotlighted racial hatreds of the North – specially manifested in immigrants or the children of immigrants who are prime beneficiaries of freedom – make hash of the North's smug superiority over the South; and the racial outlook is continued and considerable bloodshed. All these, too, are results of the explosion of many explosions in the last 25 years. The benefits of all those explosions have, in some degree, been turned to self-centered or short-sighted uses. To a Martian it must look funny.

Historical accident, natural resources, and sheer luck, plus tremendous ingenuity and application in exploiting these matters, have catapulted us into the Great Leap. But it is not yet finished. We do not know where we will land. We are not even sure where we want to land. Brooks says that ideas used to run ahead of realities in this country and that now ideological receptivity has been outstripped by social and technological changes. No sooner does the reader agree than, typically, he counterbalances this conclusion with solace from Gertrude Stein: "One does not get better but different and older and that is always a pleasure." But this pleasure does not seem any more inevitable in national life than in personal life, so I will stick with Brooks' first conclusion: I will hope for increased receptivity to ideas and for the generation of ideas more realistic than the ideals of political oratory, more far-reaching than perceptible advantage – a core of vitalizing concepts to rout the specter of vacuity within the American intellectual and physical bustle. If the ideas can ever out-leap the immediately visible changes described in this book, we may come to understand what we are doing all the other leaping for.

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